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IN THIS ISSUE

THE SHAPE OF THINGS 29

EDITORIALS
- National Service Again 31
- We're in to Stay 32
- Break with Franco Now! *by Freda Kirchwey* 33

ARTICLES
- The War Fronts *by Charles G. Bolté* 34
- The Resurrection of Dies *by I. F. Stone* 35
- 10 Years Ago in *The Nation* 36
- Tomorrow the Movies II. Pictures without Theaters *by John Grierson* 37
- Production First *by Stuart Chase* 39
- Will America Back Out? *by Reinhold Niebuhr* 42

POLITICAL WAR
- How to Lose Friends in France *by Jules Moch* 44
- Letter from Rome 45
- Behind the Enemy Line *by Argus* 46

BOOKS AND THE ARTS
- An International Episode *by Lionel Trilling* 47
- Notes by the Way *by Margaret Marshall* 48
- Briefer Comment 50
- Drama *by Joseph Wood Krutch* 52
- Art *by Clement Greenberg* 52
- Music *by B. H. Haggin* 53

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS 55

CROSS-WORD PUZZLE No. 98 *by Jack Barrett* 56

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The Shape of Things

THE GERMANS HAVE BEEN COUNTER-ATTACKING not only in the west but in the east during the past week, and in both theaters they have had a considerable measure of success. The fighting around Budapest has been exceptionally bloody, even for the bloody eastern front, and the Germans have made a large-scale attempt to relieve the encircled garrison of the city—surely not through any sense of wanting to preserve Budapest's ancient buildings. Whether or not the attempt succeeds, it serves to emphasize once more the extraordinary recuperative powers of Germany, and the strength which the Wehrmacht still commands. It serves further to emphasize a fact too often neglected by many individuals among the western Allies: that the bulk of the German power is concentrated on the eastern front. The Red Army still bears the brunt of the battle against our common enemy; and, although victory may come from either east or west, the German general staff is forced to mass most of its impressive defensive strength in the east. Surely this battle for Budapest, gateway to Austria and the southern approaches to the Reich, demonstrates the falsity of the charge that the Russians drove into southeastern Europe solely for political reasons. General Dittmar, in fact, now reveals that the Germans *expected* the chief Russian offensive in this region last summer, and were completely crossed by the offensive on the central front. As for the parallel charge that the Red Army stopped before Warsaw for political reasons, the official summary of "Land Warfare in 1944," issued by the British War Office, states flatly that "German resistance hardened, and a counter-attack launched by fresh reinforcements halted the advance of the Red Army." Russian soldiers are also dying in this most bitter phase of the war against Germany.

*

THE MOMENT OF OPTIMISM THAT FOLLOWED the retirement of the King of the Hellenes vanished in an instant last week when the new regent, Archbishop Damaskinos, asked General Plastiras to form the long-awaited unity government. British advices had pictured Damaskinos as sympathetic to the EAM and genuinely desirous of reaching a democratic solution in Greece. But instead he has inflicted a renovated dictatorship upon his unhappy country, one that seems to have the full backing of British bayonets. Plastiras, one-time anti-monarchist leader, was recently brought out of a long exile by the British. Now, as he announces his intention of imposing General Scobie's terms on the "rebels, by force if necessary," the British action no longer appears quite as disinterested as it did at first. The EAM cannot, of

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course, participate in the new cabinet under present conditions and an early plebiscite, which seemed possible a few days ago, has become a forlorn hope. After weeks of bitter fighting against British regulars reinforced by Greek rightist bands —the Security Battalion and the Mountain Brigades—the ELAS, hopelessly inferior in matériel and equipment, has withdrawn from Athens. The bulk of Greece, however, remains under the administration of the EAM and it will not be forgotten that even the Germans were unable to subjugate the hinterland.

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THE SETBACK ON THE WESTERN FRONT HAS rendered acute the problem of shipping space and, following Anglo-American conversations in Washington, a revision of previously agreed schedules is believed to be in prospect. In this matter military considerations of course are paramount but they in turn involve many political and economic factors. What, for instance, is the minimum volume of supplies that we can afford to ship to the liberated countries? It has been stated that the Anglo-American High Command has decided to restrict such supplies to the amount necessary to prevent disease and civil disorder. But in Italy the meager allotment made available is not sufficient to meet even this requirement, for Mrs. Luce tells us that Italians are "literally dying of cold and starvation before your eyes by the thousands." Months ago Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill agreed that the Italian bread ration should be raised to 300 grams daily—a far from extravagant amount—but this proposal has not yet been put into effect. According to the State Department, the shipping situation is responsible. In France, Belgium, and the liberated portions of Holland the situation is not much better and, as a result, manpower which could be put to work for the Allied cause is being wasted. France, given some preliminary aid in the form of fertilizers, farm machinery, and raw materials, could not only feed itself but produce urgently needed goods such as textiles, of which there is an acute world shortage although plenty of raw cotton is available in this country. If French estimates that one ton of strategic imports for their factories would mean a ten-ton gain in war materials are correct, there is obviously a strong case for diverting some shipping space to a purpose of such immediate concern to Allied victory.

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FREDERICK C. CRAWFORD, FORMER PRESIDENT OF the National Association of Manufacturers, recently went to France expecting to find that the country was suffering acutely. But one glance at the Ritz in Paris, with its well-painted rooms, its big brass door-knobs intact, and its new silk curtains, disillusioned him. Obviously the French workers had been living well during the Nazi occupation and so it was no surprise when "a fine conservative Frenchman" told him that if it had gone on a little longer the French "would have settled for things as they were." Anxious to win the support of the French working classes, Mr. Crawford explained, the Germans primed the economic pump by setting an exchange rate which "filled the pockets of the German soldiers with money" and encouraging them to go out and spend it. This resulted in a quick turnover of consumer goods and led to a boom "that brought apparent prosperity to the working classes." In Belgium, too, Mr. Crawford said, "business was above normal" during the occupation and "cruelty was reserved only for those who entered the underground against the Nazis." Clearly, there is no need to get too excited about that since, according to this highly qualified observer, in both France and Belgium "the underground is composed largely of Communists, young people, and underworld ex-convicts." Why haven't the many able American correspondents in Europe given us this information before? Because, says Mr. Crawford, the censorship of news distorts the European picture and on the subject of distortion he obviously speaks with unique authority.

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HENRI BONNET'S ARRIVAL IN WASHINGTON AS the first ambassador of liberated France brings to a close a dismal period in Franco-American relations. The last official ambassador from France, Henri-Haye, represented not the French Republic, our ally from the start, but the ignominious Vichy regime at the service of the enemy. After our rupture with Vichy, our failure to admit the reality of the Fourth Republic during its early days in Algiers reinforced the erroneous impression that Americans were disdainful of the struggle for freedom of the very people who were the first to recognize our own war for independence. When, at long last, our government granted full recognition to General de Gaulle, we had the bad grace to send Jefferson Caffery as our first ambassador to Paris. Mr. Caffery, if his record in Cuba and in Brazil is any indication, is about as little qualified as any man could be to understand the spirit of the new French revolution and to keep our government well informed about France. But the presence in Washington of Henri Bonnet, one of France's leading liberals, a man with a distinguished record of service in the cause of intellectual freedom both in the League of Nations and out of it, seems, in a sense, to provide some compensation for the damage.

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GOVERNOR DEWEY'S ANNUAL MESSAGE TO THE New York state legislature had a mildly progressive flavor, suggesting to some observers that his experiences as a Presidential candidate had convinced him of the need to attract liberal voters. He announced, for instance, the appointment of a committee to study revision of the formula on which state aid to education is based, thus opening the door for a more generous allotment of funds to the schools. He also proposed to increase funds for public housing and emphasized public works as a means of combatting unemployment in a way that brought him a solemn rebuke from the New York *Times*. However, as the American Labor Party has pointed out, after holding office for two years, his policy on social questions is still in the main to suggest committees to study what action should be taken rather than to recommend actual measures. His most sensational proposal—that the state should undertake the completion of the St. Lawrence seaway and power project if the federal government failed to act—was greeted by both friends and foes with some cynicism. "Some Republicans," reports the New York *Times* Albany correspondent, "regard Mr. Dewey's stand as 'smart politics' since it would give them the 'liberal' side of a power issue, and would make it difficult for the Democrats to nominate Senator

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James M. Mead of Buffalo as their candidate for Governor in 1946." Buffalo interests are opposed to the St. Lawrence project, which they fear would adversely affect their trade, and Senator Mead voted against it on December 12 last year. However, even more vehement opposition has been expressed by up-state Republican leaders. The power interests have yet to be heard from; probably they don't take the proposal very seriously.

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IN DECLARING THAT JIM CROW AND THE CLOSED shop were incompatible under the law, the California Supreme Court has put to shame the equivocal decision on the same issue handed down recently by the United States Supreme Court. In contrast to the federal tribunal's weak statement that "discriminations based on race alone are obviously irrelevant and invidious," the California court declared flatly that such discrimination affects the fundamental right to work for a living and is therefore "contrary to the public policy of the United States and this state." The California decision, which was unanimous, held that when a union has attained a monopoly of the supply of labor by means of a closed shop, such a union occupies a quasi-public position and assumes corresponding obligations—notably that of upholding the principles of the Fifteenth Amendment. Obviously, certain dangers are inherent in the California decision. Labor-baiters will undoubtedly try to extend the "obligations" assumed under the closed shop in such a way as to weaken or destroy trade unionism as such. But if organized labor expects continued public support in its campaign for closed shop contracts, it should take immediate voluntary steps to open its ranks to all workers, without regard for race, religion, or political affiliation.

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CARLTON J. H. HAYES' PRO-FRANCO SENTIMENTS have undermined his formerly high professional reputation. Eighty of his fellow historians, hailing from thirty colleges and universities, recently objected strenuously to the official nomination of the former Ambassador to Spain as president of the American Historical Association. His election, they stated, in a petition presented at the Association's annual meeting in Chicago two weeks ago, "would constitute, in the eyes of the public, an endorsement by the history profession of his friendly attitude toward the Franco regime." After heated debate the petitioners secured a secret ballot, with the result that 110 votes were cast for Hayes and 66 protest votes for Sidney B. Fay of Harvard University. And so Hayes became the first historian to be honored with the Association's presidency by less than a unanimous vote. The man who has gone on record as believing that universal schooling has served "to dispel rather than to forward the Enlightenment," may be expected to bring as little glory to the presidency of the Association as he did to the office of Ambassador to Spain. The action of his liberal colleagues is sufficient answer to the State Department-inspired article in the December issue of *Harper's* which attempts to whitewash Hayes' pro-Franco record. It is welcome demonstration, also, of the fact that academicians, when sufficiently provoked, take their political responsibilities seriously.

National Service Again

NATIONAL-SERVICE legislation, again asked for by the President in his annual message to Congress, must be considered from three points of view. The first is its effect on the morale of the armed forces; this, to us, is the most weighty argument in its favor. The second is its effect on the morale of labor. Last year the President asked for national service but only as part of a broader program designed to stabilize the cost of living and to eliminate the profits of war. National service failed of passage with the rest of this program. This year the President's request is coupled only with an affirmation of his past pledges on the post-war economy—full employment, aid to small business, elimination of monopolies and cartels, development of more "TVA's," expansion of foreign trade, and a broader public-works program. We should think that it would be wise at least to couple national service with action to raise substandard wages. The hearings last year on the 65-cents-an-hour resolution showed how many American workers, despite talk of high wages, are making less than enough for a decent minimum living standard.

The third point of view from which national service must be considered is that of productive efficiency. So far the President has failed to make out a case for its necessity. This is true even in the limited field of the 4-F's. We favor legislation enabling the government to force 4-F's into war industry, but we do not see why new legislation is needed. We are puzzled by the new selective-service order which provides for induction into the armed forces, without privileges, of 2-A's and 2-B's who quit war work. We fail to understand why the order was not extended to cover 4,000,000 4-F's. It seems to us that selective service today has ample power to force these men into war work. Were the 4-F's left out of the order to provide an additional argument for national service?

We note in the report to Congress of James F. Byrnes, Director of War Mobilization and Reconversion, the statement, "The truth is that our soldiers at the front today are not short of ammunition and supplies as a result of any production failures." We note also his statement, "Several hundred thousand workers would fulfill the requirement of critical war production." Mr. Byrnes has closed racetracks, a ludicrously belated action. He has courageously ended agricultural deferments. He has asked immediate action on 4-F's. He and the President also want national-service legislation. "Because the war economy has matured," Byrnes reported, "because the labor supply is tight and relatively inflexible, moving enough workers to the right plants at the right time takes intensive effort on the part of all agencies." But the power to compel labor to move from one plant to another is only one phase of this "intensive effort on the part of all agencies." We cannot agree with the President that national service alone would insure having "the right number of workers in the right places at the right times." That takes competent organization. It takes planning. It takes a control of all factors of the productive process, labor included, that has yet to be exercised by either the army procurement services or the War Production Board. In the absence of such competent over-all direction the mere addition of compulsion

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to the handling of labor might make a bad situation worse.

The first tendency of a military man is to apply compulsion, but there are tight situations in which a little thought is more important than the power to command. The army has from the first resisted planning of the war effort. One need only glance at the Mead committee's report of last December on accumulation of surpluses in order to see how much could be done in the production and man-power picture with a little more brains and a little less brass-hat stubbornness. Entirely too little progress has been made in centralizing and standardizing procurement. "There is no reason known to the committee," its report says, "why there should be different sizes and specifications for towels, blankets, sheets, artillery, and hundreds of other items." All this means waste of labor, time, and materials.

Much of the labor shortage is in skilled labor, and much of this in turn is due to the downright stupidity of the army and selective service in drafting men with irreplaceable skills who are more useful in industry than in uniform. The Mead committee made a survey of the use to which "certain highly skilled experts" were put after being drafted into the army and found most of them "landed in clerical positions or in other places where their creative ability and training were wasted." The committee reported that war-production shortages were due "to a substantial degree to the precipitous drafting of men from industry, in many cases some time before they were actually needed in the armed forces." We do not oppose national service if the need for it can be proved and some assurance can be given of competent direction. We look to Congressional hearings on new national-service legislation to provide that assurance. Without it we may merely find ourselves wasting more manpower than before.

We're In to Stay

SEVERAL events in the past two weeks have thrown into high light the serious differences that have developed among the United Nations. The announcement of a new Greek Cabinet under General Plastiras failed to halt the fighting between the EAM forces and the British troops of General Scobie. In Lublin the National Liberation Committee proclaimed itself the rightful government of Poland and received, as one might expect, the quick recognition of the Soviet Union. Less expected was the refusal of both the British and the American government to break with the London Polish government in exile. Meanwhile the British press swung in behind the London *Economist* in its attack on the "hypocritical" and "irresponsible" American criticism of British policies in Europe, and the *Stars and Stripes* issued a moving appeal to put aside dissension between Allies as once more the bugles sounded for battle. Over the week-end the President gave a frank appraisal of Allied disharmony.

There is no doubt that American coolness toward our fighting allies has reached an acute stage. While liberals have stormed against the Mediterranean maneuvers of England's imperialistic Prime Minister, the Hearst press and its friends to the right and the left have practically called for a declaration of war on the Soviet Union. Liberal internationalists and isolationist diehards are paradoxically drifting into the same camp. This is a serious state of affairs, dangerously reminiscent of the swing of American opinion after the last war. Once more liberals are becoming disillusioned and suggesting that the United States will be asked to approve an international organization which sanctifies the predatory decisions of the great powers against their neighbors. "Perfectionism no less than isolationism or power politics," as Mr. Roosevelt said, "may obstruct the paths of international peace."

This perfectionism has Europe worried and may even account for some of England's, Russia's, and France's latest moves. Mr. Stettinius's statements on Italy and Greece have been lauded as gentle rebukes to England: they may equally be regarded, as Dr. Niebuhr suggests elsewhere in this issue, as a Pilate-like washing of our hands as we look askance at Europe's troubles. And if the American government has a basic disinterest in Europe's future, then the big powers of Europe are going to look out for their own security without taking America into account. Power and not a regard for the rights of peoples will then be the chief consideration. England will guard its interests, its very national existence, by keeping in repair its lanes of empire and by building, if possible, a bloc of friendly nations in Western Europe. France, not casting off its traditional alliance with England, will back Russia's eastern claims in return for Russia's assistance vis-a-vis the threat of Germany. Russia will secure friendly neighbors on all its borders and extend its sphere of influence as far as necessary—but no farther than necessary—south and west. Altogether, this spells no pattern of durable peace but rather a scheme of uncertainly balanced power. In the past such a scheme has not prevented wars. It is not likely to prevent wars in the future. In fact, with Europe in its present revolutionary state, the attempts to suppress popular movements are almost bound to produce a state of civil war from which European civilization may never recover.

It is with such a likely European future in prospect that we should reconsider our current preoccupation with Italy, Greece, and Poland. Our attitudes tend to run from shocked disapproval to realistic indorsement according to our ideological partisanship. Our attitudes imply a physical and moral aloofness from which we may judge these power policies without being involved ourselves. Even liberal internationalists enjoy a sense of spiritual isolation from Europe's mess. We wish to state our position quite positively: The eradication of that covert isolationism is the most critical problem which American liberals face today. The full participation of the United States with England and Russia in a responsible concern for the future of Europe is not only the sole hope for the survival of Europe's forces of liberation and for the utter destruction of fascism; it is the sole hope for the survival of our own democracy. The President's statement seemed to suggest a more definite American concern in the affairs of Europe: "We cannot deny," said Mr. Roosevelt, "that power is a factor in world politics any more than we can deny its existence as a factor in national politics. But in a democratic world as in a democratic nation power must be linked with responsibility and obliged to defend and justify itself within the framework of the general good."

Now if this statement is more than fine words it means that the United States will join its power as a great democracy in a responsible manner with the power of other members of

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the United Nations. We shall "use our influence to the end that no temporary or provisional authorities in the liberated countries block the eventual exercise of the people's right freely to choose the government and institutions under which, as free men, they are to live." And it is to be hoped that the power of the United States will be so exerted before and not after the fate of the people of Italy, Greece, and Poland is settled by the unilateral action of a single great power.

We cannot say that we are altogether confident that the newly picked State Department "team" is prepared to play this daring and powerful role. Nor can we feel too hopeful that the American people appreciate the actuality of global unity. If we are beyond the horse-and-buggy days we are not yet out of the era of steamships; oceans still mean distance. Today a sphere of isolated security is just as anachronistic as a sphere of influence; both ideas stem from thought modes of yesterday which this war has utterly shattered. Perhaps liberals had better even suspend their tears for the forces of liberation in Europe and begin to think a little more realistically of the future security of America. Then both European and American democracy may benefit. For our concern for America will take us to the very heart of Europe's problems. And our full participation in the common action of the United Nations is not only the sole guaranty of the rebirth of freedom in Italy, Greece, and Poland but the sole guaranty of the post-war freedom and security of all peoples throughout the world. We had better begin soon.

Break with Franco Now!

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

THE mass meeting called by The Nation Associates last Tuesday to demand the end of diplomatic relations with Axis Spain was a tremendous success. Backed by a dozen labor and civic organizations, it drew some 16,000 people to Madison Square Garden in New York to hear a group of speakers give not only their opinion of the fascist regime in Spain but a penetrating analysis of the effect our continued recognition of Franco would have on world opinion and on the hope of a decent, democratic peace. But such a rally, however successful, is effective only in the degree to which it stimulates further action. We know that. And so, while we are gratified by the enthusiasm it generated, our real interest is in what flows from it.

For the time to act is now; just now. At an earlier period, appeals for a break with Franco would have been met by assertions that our military position would be endangered if his regime were not treated as a neutral—even as a friend. At a later period the Franco dictatorship, no longer even allegedly useful but an obvious menace to our future plans, particularly in the New World, may be supplanted by a Spanish version of Prince Humbert and Badoglio, or, perhaps, of King George and Papandreou. Spain has ringers for these characters ready to hand. If such a shift is made Spain will be in for a new bitter struggle, and its friends will be left to shout their grief and disapproval at an accomplished fact. Now is the time to act. Franco is left with nothing to lean on except the German agents that infest his land and the diplomatic support of Britain and the United States. A change is in the wind; anyone with a sensitive nose can detect it. It is up to those of us who realize the importance of a democratic Spain to a democratic world to see to it that the change meets the wishes of the Spanish people.

This is what Dr. Juan Negrín said in the remarkable address which the British Foreign Office refused to allow him to broadcast to the Madison Square Garden meeting. The cabled text was read there and published in last week's *Nation,* but I want to recall a few lines of it here:

> I am speaking to you, our American friends, to assure you that the Spanish people are ready and able to handle their own affairs, on condition that we are let alone, on condition that our hands are not tied, on condition that we are not subjected to pressures and maneuvers from without. We do not ask for it—please understand this—we do not ask for and we do not want intervention by other governments or armies. Two centuries of experience with foreign interventions have left a bitter memory in Spain, so costly have they been for us. For the last of these interventions, the one that by supreme irony was so hypocritically labeled Non-Intervention, we are still paying. Nor do we draw any comfort from certain recent examples of the same kind elsewhere.
>
> We would welcome and we would be grateful for the sympathy, the help, the collaboration of friends. But the intervention of powers—no! Emphatically no! We only ask that no obstacles be placed in our way and that no aid be extended surreptitiously to the enemies of the Republic with arms so subtle that they cannot be matched by the meager means at our disposal. We only ask that the screws be not put on and that our future be not denied us.

This, of course, outlines our job: to insist upon a break with Franco; to insist that the Spanish people be given a chance to determine their fate, free from "pressures and maneuvers from without"; to provide sympathy, help, collaboration as the friends of democracy in Spain.

No single course of action or organization will be sufficient to bring this about. The thousands at last Tuesday's meeting promised with one voice to back Senator Coffee's resolution, which he has already reintroduced in the new session, demanding a break with Franco. It is certain, too, that the cooperating organizations will throw their weight behind this first, most necessary and tangible move. There cannot be too much pressure or pressure from too many sources. Not one committee, but thousands of citizens organized in many groups, will show our legislators the breadth and insistence of the demand that America redeem as far as possible its past mistakes in dealing with Hitler's Generalissimo in Spain. We hope readers of *The Nation* in many parts of the country, through the various organizations to which they belong, will hold rallies to make their demand for a break vocal and united.

In connection with the meeting last Tuesday the Nation Associates has launched an organization, The Friends of the Spanish Republic, which plans to initiate an active campaign of public education on a nation-wide scale. A bulletin will be issued and speakers made available to lead public discussions of the questions involved. *Nation* readers will be kept informed of the progress of the committee's plans. The Madison Square meeting sampled the strength of American democratic opinion that has not forgotten the infamy of the Spanish war. Its aftermath must be the decisive mobilization of that opinion against the last bastion of world fascism.

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The War Fronts

BY CHARLES G. BOLTE

THE true outcome of the German counter-offensive into Belgium is not expected to be known until this article appears in print, or perhaps not until a week later. Official Washington, rudely awakened by the rude refusal of the enemy to lie doggo, has been taking a dim view of the western front since a not too Merry Christmas dispelled the dismal hope that the German blow might yet prove a bust. An un-Happy New Year of slowly progressing Allied counter-measures and German outbreaks on other sectors did little to restore the mists of bright wishing.

The Pentagon Building was never as sanguine about the German disaster of late summer and fall as was Allied Headquarters, but it was still pretty cheerful until the turn of the year or thereabouts. Then saner counsels within its walls prevailed—counsels which it is this department's unhappy duty to report were consistently declaring that the Germans were still potent for aggression, but which were cried down by more optimistic and less informed superiors.

As noted, it will probably not be known for some days what the outcome will eventually be: German recoupment and fresh thrust onward, retirement to the old line, or settlement at something like the present position—about half the original salient? Beyond that, the bearing on total western-front strategy and dispositions will not be known for some time longer. But already enough is known to show that the Allies have suffered a grievous reverse. The German claim of 50,000 American casualties may be taken at the usual discount; but the battles of Bastogne, St. Vith, and Stavelot were not fought without loss. More serious in the long run is the extent to which Allied plans for winter operations were upset. Armies from the two previously active sectors were diverted and thrown into the battle to channel the German blow straight to the west, where it could do the least damage. These operations were very well executed, especially in the case of the Third Army in the south: whatever staff officer arranged the switching of those divisions from an eastward to a northward advance, over poor and winter-bound roads, deserves special medals. Nevertheless, the transfer of so many divisions weakened the Saar and Aachen fronts, allowing a considerable German advance on the first and aggressive patrolling on the other.

Thus the Allies lost the initiative everywhere in the west and the Germans have been calling the turn. Our arrangements have been made temporary, at times rather desperate, as a result. Rundstedt, far from scrambling back out of the Ardennes salient when Allied counter-attacks bit in, continued funneling fresh troops in from Germany, and dug in hard: laying all the minefields and defensive fire points the First Army had never laid in the same region. The Luftwaffe, hoarded to good effect, brought up to pre-D-Day strength and above by thorough measures of production and pilot-training, had a princely New Year's Day raiding Allied airfields in France, Belgium, and the Netherlands, catching the air forces with their pants down nearly as far as the First Army's on December 16. Then the weather went foul again, grounding the Allied planes during the important days of counter-attack from north and south last week. As the week closed, the enemy had been able to concentrate troops and armor in several sectors, and threats were still alive to the French corner behind the Saar-Palatinate sector, to Liège, to Maastricht, and even to Antwerp. This is not to say that any of the threats will materialize; but they were there, and some of them may still be there. Thus far had the Allies been taken between wind and water in less than a month.

Some of the Germans' success must be attributed to their superior armor and their excellent employment of that important arm. The Tiger tank's 88-millimeter gun and the Panther tank's 75-mm. can penetrate the best current American tank, the Sherman, at 2,500 yards; the American M-10 tank destroyer, with a 3-inch (about 75-mm.) gun using special armor-piercing cap ammunition, had difficulty in Normandy destroying a Panther at 150 to 200 yards—in one case, three hits on the upper front hull ricocheted off, one on the lower front hull penetrated. Their tanks are comparatively more silent than ours, the noise-discipline of their crews superior. They are perhaps more skilled in the camouflage of tanks than any other modern army. A combat report from the United States XIX Corps, published in the *Military Review* of the Command and General Staff School at Fort Leavenworth, adds this description of the German tank-infantry team:

> Before the shock of the [tanks'] guns discharged at close range and the garden-hose spray of machine-gun bullets had even taken full effect, German infantrymen were over the hedgerow and into the field, dogtrotting through to the next with great determination and courage. They knew where they were going and went there fast. . . . [The tanks] used long bursts of their rapid-firing machine guns to discourage guests. If pressed at all, they shot flares which brought down their own artillery and mortars on their flanks. Their handling of their tanks was bold and sure.

The grim truth seems to be that today, after five and a half years of war, the Germans are still ahead of the western Allies (we don't know so much about the Russians) in many important branches of warfare. It is no great consolation to think that they are losing the war regardless. We still have not developed a dual-purpose (anti-aircraft and anti-tank) gun as good as the German 88; we still lag one step behind in the fire-power and armor of our tanks; our tactical doctrine, particularly in the bold employment of the tank-infantry team, leaves much to be desired (with the great exception of Patton's sweep out of Normandy); we tend to estimate future requirements of men and weapons on the basis of local factors in the most recent campaign, ignoring potential factors of the next campaign (e.g., the Army's cutback in tank and heavy artillery production after the moun-

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tain fighting in Tunisia; the Navy's cutback in pilot-training after last year's low Pacific rate of attrition).

This criticism in no way detracts from the very great performance of most of our commanders and fighting men, but it lends some weight to the German complaint that we defeat them by manufacturing large amounts of metal and then dropping the metal on their heads. This was a good way to try to win the war—good because it saved life—but now we see there is no short cut to crushing a valiant and resourceful enemy. The price of victory is not only treasure but blood. In a real sense, the Germans have played into Eisenhower's hands by fighting west of the Rhine, where eventually they may be destroyed. But it will now take bloody fighting and a good deal more subtlety and flexibility to destroy them.

The Resurrection of Dies

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, January 4

IF THE N. C. P. A. C. and the C. I. O.-P. A. C. get up from their beds and walk, there is still a chance to do something about the sudden passage by the House of the Rankin resolution making the Dies committee permanent. No vote for continuing the work of this committee has ever been so narrow. A shift of eleven votes would have defeated the Rankin resolution. Twenty-three Democrats were absent when the vote was taken, and a majority of these are either hostile to the committee or amenable to party discipline. A motion to reconsider might lead to the defeat of the Rankin resolution. Such a motion has been offered by Hook of Michigan, a long-time foe of the Dies committee.

A second test of strength will come on the question of handing over the Dies committee records to this new standing committee. Cochran of Missouri pointed out that this would require passage of a resolution by the House. The parliamentary maneuver by which Rankin got his resolution before the House was bold and clever but vulnerable. He appended it to a routine resolution making the rules of the Seventy-eighth Congress those of the Seventy-ninth, and both the manner of the amendment and its content were so unprecedented as to provide a fulcrum for skilful counter-attack. It was, as McCormack of Massachusetts pointed out, the first time in the history of the Republic that a permanent investigating committee had been established by either house of Congress. That such a committee should be established without prior consideration by the Rules Committee, without hearings and full discussion on the floor, must impress many in the House as hasty and irresponsible. Not the least of the questions left undiscussed and unanswered concerns the legislative recommendations the Rankin resolution authorizes the new standing committee to make. Until now, as Cochran pointed out, legislation of this character has been passed upon by the Judiciary Committee. How is jurisdiction to be divided between them?

If the Rankin resolution cannot be recalled or a retreat forced on the question of the Dies records, an organized fight can produce results in the personnel picked to man this new permanent committee. The Democratic members of the House Ways and Means Committee are a standing committee on committees and will pick the majority members. Two of the fifteen Democratic members of the newly organized Ways and Means Committee, Doughton of North Carolina, the chairman, and Dingell of Michigan, did not vote on the Rankin resolution. Of the thirteen who did, seven voted against the resolution, six for it. It would seem that Dingell, who is from Detroit, where the C. I. O. is powerful, could be depended on to take an anti-Dies position. Doughton, as a leading House Democrat, ought to be amenable to party discipline if the House leadership presses the matter. Even if Doughton, like many of the Southern Democrats, is pro-Dies, there should be a majority on this committee prepared to pick personnel that could be trusted to go after genuinely un-American activities instead of terrorizing progressives and New Dealers, and to handle hearings with fairness and propriety.

Local and regional P. A. C. units and other labor and progressive groups should go to work at once on the Democratic members of the House Ways and Means Committee. The seven who voted against the Rankin resolution deserve praise and help. They are Gregory of Kentucky, Lynch of New York, Forand of Rhode Island, Wasielewski of Wisconsin, Eberharter of Pennsylvania, King of California, and Anderson of New Mexico. Interviews might well be arranged with and protests sent to the six who voted for the Rankin resolution. They are Robertson of Virginia, West of Texas, Mills of Arkansas, Camp of Georgia, Cooper of Tennessee, and Maloney of Louisiana. If there must be a permanent committee, the best bet for chairman would seem to be Eberharter, who has been a member of the Dies committee for a little over a year and has displayed intelligence and courage in fighting its abuses. He pleaded strongly against the Rankin resolution and declared that if the Dies committee carried on its work along past lines it would "lead to disunity" and continued dependence "on passion, prejudice, and unreliable matter."

Organized action by labor and liberal groups will prove effective if brought to bear when the new committee asks for funds. Three hurdles will have to be surmounted by the committee. The first is the Rules Committee under Sabath; the chairman and a number of his colleagues have long been critical of Dies methods. The second is the Accounts Committee under Cochran of Missouri, who led the fight on the floor against the Rankin resolution and told one newspaperman today, "They won't get a dime if I have anything to say about it." If pressure were successful in persuading these committees to hold hearings, those hearings would provide an excellent forum in which to place on the record the whole story of the Dies committee's abuse of fair play and decent

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procedure. The third hurdle in obtaining funds would be the House itself, which must vote the appropriation.

In organizing to fight continuation of Dies tactics, an asset is the fact that four members of the committee, including the chairman, are among the missing in this new Congress, three of them having been defeated at the polls. The four men who took their places all voted against the Rankin resolution. The N. C. P. A. C. and the C. I. O.-P. A. C. ought to make it their business to analyze the vote on the Rankin resolution in the fullest detail, and to organize pressure in home districts wherever possible. The Democrats voted 150 to 70 against the Rankin resolution, and it may be useful privately to consult party leadership in the House on any steps to be taken against the 70. The Republicans voted 137 to 34 in favor of the Rankin resolution, and it would be excellent if steps were taken not merely to make some of the 137 uncomfortable but to support the 34 against reprisal by party leadership.

The word "on the hill" today was that at least two of these 34 Republicans, Herter of Massachusetts and Luce of Connecticut, were to be punished by Minority Leader Martin. Herter wanted to be on the Appropriations Committee, Luce on the Foreign Relations Committee. I doubt whether Luce would be productive of much good on that committee, but I also doubt whether she would be any worse than any other candidate likely to be picked by Martin. Luce at least deserves some credit for her vote, as do her fellow-Republicans, including (strangely enough) Dirksen of Illinois and Lemke of North Dakota, who also voted against the Rankin resolution. It was not at all strange, however, to find Joseph Clark Baldwin of New York, Bender of Ohio, La Follette of Indiana, Wolverton of New Jersey, Ham Fish's successor Bennett, and Mrs. Frances P. Bolton of Ohio among the Republicans who declined to vote blindly as a matter of Republican party discipline for a resolution put by a Mississippi poll-tax Democrat. Progressives may well raise the question in Republican districts whether the G. O. P. in the House is to be led by Rankin of Mississippi.

I suspect it was Jerry Voorhis of California to whom Cochran referred when he told the House that the Dies committee in recent years had become a one-man investigation committee. Cochran said the situation on the Dies committee had become so bad that "one member of the committee came to me and said he had asked for the names of the employees of the committee of which he was a member." Cochran said this bewildered Dies committee member wanted to know what salaries were being paid and what duties performed by the various employees of the committee. "He, a member of that committee," Cochran declared, "said he was denied that information." This sounds like Voorhis.

Two excellent book-length studies of the Dies committee are now available, one by William Gellerman, the other by Brother August Raymond Ogden. Labor and liberal organizations would do well to assign a special committee to familiarize themselves with both, and use the ammunition they provide in the legislative strategy here discussed. It would be tragic if progressives permitted Rankin's swift parliamentary coup to floor them. A permanent inquiry in the Dies manner would be the greatest single weapon American crypto-fascism could wield for disunity and reaction.

10 Years Ago in "The Nation"

JAPAN'S ACTION in abrogating the Washington naval treaty marks the end of the first serious attempt at the international restriction of armaments.—*January 2, 1935.*

FATHER COUGHLIN, in launching the National League for Social Justice, carefully avoided saying anything about a new political party. . . . That Father Coughlin should not be explicit about his intentions is in keeping with his mentality. He is not the explicit kind of person. . . . After reading and hearing many of his speeches I am struck by their technical similarity to those of Hitler. These, too, are vague and emotional. Carefully analyzed, they do not read as radical as they sound. . . . More nearly than any demagogue in America he has the formula for a fascist party, a semi-radical program which is "safe" on the labor question, which guarantees the profit system, and which appeals simultaneously to agriculture, the middle class, and the big employer.—RAYMOND GRAM SWING, *January 2, 1935.*

BACKED BY a high-powered propaganda machine which is capitalizing the desperate hopes of elderly men and women, the Townsend plan proposing a pension of $200 a month for all persons over sixty is sweeping the country. . . . It would be difficult not to treat the Townsend plan as a joke if it were not such a serious matter for so many.—M. B. SCHNAPPER, *January 9, 1935.*

BATON ROUGE, LOUISIANA, December, 1934. The state legislature is in session for the fourth time this year. The summons went out Friday for a meeting Sunday night, December 16, which anywhere else would trumpet an emergency. Here it meant simply a new maneuver by Huey Long. . . . At five minutes before nine Huey arrives noisily with his bodyguard. . . . Thirty-five bills are acted on in seventy minutes, thirty-four approved, one shelved. This was the pace at the last session, and no doubt will be the pace so long as Huey's machine holds together. Two minutes for a law; this is dictatorship.—RAYMOND GRAM SWING, *January 9, 1935.*

BOOKS OF THE MONTH: Vardis Fisher, "We Are Betrayed"; James Hilton, "Lost Horizon"; Joseph Wood Krutch, "Was Europe a Success?"; John Strachey, "Literature and Dialectical Materialism"; Norman Thomas, "Human Exploitation"; Rexford Guy Tugwell, "The Battle for Democracy"; Thornton Wilder, "Heaven's My Destination."

THE THEATER SEASON: "Accent on Youth," "Anything Goes," "Dark Victory," "Gold Eagle Guy," "Life Begins at 8:40," "Merrily We Roll Along," "Ode to Liberty," "Page Miss Glory," "Personal Appearance," "Petrified Forest," "Post Road," "Rain from Heaven," "Revenge with Music," "Sailors of Cattaro," "Small Miracle," "The Children's Hour," "The Distaff Side," "Valley Forge," "Within the Gates."

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Tomorrow the Movies

II. PICTURES WITHOUT THEATERS

BY JOHN GRIERSON

SEVERAL years ago, when it was difficult to get theater bookings for documentary films, producers of documentaries in England noted that there was "more seating capacity outside the theaters than inside them." Accordingly they began to distribute their films to schools and colleges, churches, service clubs, and community centers, and to organize a new kind of film service for group audiences brought together by their professional, social, or academic interests. This use of the non-theatrical film in England, the United States, Canada, and elsewhere is the most important happening in the film world in the past fifteen years. It has come about without any considerable help from the theatrical film industry but has had strong support from governments. As a result there has occurred a rough demarcation of spheres of operation. The film industry, interested primarily, if not exclusively, in entertainment, has abandoned to others a field in which a vast contribution can be made to the advancement of agriculture and industry, health and welfare, national and international cooperation.

The industry should not, however, be blamed for this. "Theater" is its business, and to its credit it has progressively learned to combine good theater with material and themes of public account—in the newsreel, in certain types of documentary films, in feature films themselves. The deliberate use of the film for instruction and interpretation, with "theater" only incidental, is, properly, the concern of professional educators and public servants, of those, that is, who are under license or contract or examination in the matter of public responsibility.

The English documentary group did not invent the non-theatrical use of films, but they were the first to organize it according to plan. Even before the development of sixteen-millimeter, or substandard, projection, the agricultural departments of many countries were using films to promote technology on the farm, finance departments were showing pictures of natural resources to encourage the flow of capital, and tourist departments were presenting "scenics," with accompanying lectures, for prospective travelers. It was all pretty haphazard, but it showed that specialized groups of a thousand and one kinds, all the way from the learned societies to the stamp collectors, were a ready-made audience for films which served their interests, and that film makers devoted to the public service had potential allies in every government department, national association, state authority, trade union, and cooperative which had at heart the educational progress of its constituents. Thus the independent film maker did not need the financial support of Joinville, Neubabelsberg, Elstree, or Hollywood. He had only to forget the bright lights of the marquee, the attraction of the studio contract, and school himself in the normal humilities and anonymities which are expected in the pedagogue, the priest, and the public servant. If the English documentary people got along faster, it was because they made up their minds sooner.

In the development of the non-theatrical film one point of great significance should be noted—namely, that this development has been determined not by educational, social, or other cultural needs *per se* but by the need of governments and public utilities to give an account of their stewardship or to secure the cooperation of the public in their plans. The information thus provided, if it does fulfil educational, social, and other cultural requirements, does so indirectly. The better operators in the documentary field have realized this from the beginning, and I have the best reason to know how single-minded and untiring they have been in directing the immediate or "political" need to larger educational and cultural ends. I am not forgetting the number of films provided for schools by Encyclopedia Britannica Films in America and Gaumont British Instructional in England and by units in France and other countries. Created to supplement the existing teaching curriculum and based on the idea that educational systems will one day pay for films as they now do for books, they have made considerable progress, in spite of the poverty and unimaginativeness of school budgets.

A government's use of educational films is not "propaganda" in the ordinary sense. Certainly we cannot impose on a government the duty of planning the national effort without giving it the means of informing the people what it is doing and of obtaining their support. This is generally admitted today in every country except the United States, where, or so it appears to the outsider, the fear of the partisan political use of information services looms very large in the public argument. It is true that government departments might use their information systems to defend incompetence or improperly to exaggerate achievements, but such practices have been progressively deplored as public information systems have discovered their proper relationship to public education and public persuasion. In this regard, the sense of responsibility of ministers and public servants alike has grown remarkably. Watchful congresses, parliaments, and presses have unquestionably made their special contribution to this result.

When I say that political necessity is a primary source of educational films, I mean a political necessity other than partisan. Let me illustrate from Canada, where the non-theatrical circulation of films has so grown in three years that the annual audience outside the theaters is now certainly larger than the population. Canada has perhaps gone even farther than England in the mobilization of specialized audiences and the considered production of films to meet their needs; and all this has been accomplished through the initiative of the government and with the support of all the political parties. But that support has not been given out of any special interest in education, or films, or art. If I asked

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baldly for money to film "the work of Canadian artists" I doubt that, in time of war, I would easily get it. On the other hand, "national unity" is a matter of great concern to every party in Parliament. Not one of them but would bless an effort to show the land and the work and the people of one part of Canada to the people of every other part and especially to homesick Canadians in France and Italy. So we have made three color films on the painters of Canada. I had a message from France the other day which said that when a film on Tom Thompson and the northern landscape and bush he painted was shown to Canadian soldiers in France, "there was not a dry eye in the house."

This alliance with political necessity has a great deal to do with the vitality and the future of education and of art. The film on Tom Thompson's paintings is none the worse for having a job to do in creating national unity and giving homesick soldiers a glimpse of their native land. A film, like any other work, discovers new energies when it knows it is going places. I shall only say of the Canadian national production schedule that its contribution to education and art is derived almost entirely from the "political necessities" intrinsic in rehabilitation and reconstruction, health and welfare, agricultural instruction and rural sociology, labor-management relations and the reconversion of industry, regional planning and industrial research for full employment, and questions of that kind. To go deeply into any one of these considerable matters is to discover the basic interests of the citizen and therefore the basic materials for the proper exercise of his imagination. The problem of industrial morale, for example, was never to be solved by patriotic ballyhoo or even by pointing the finger of scorn at the absentee. It required a local and intimate consideration of the conditions governing wages and work, housing and transport, health and recreation. Workers had to be given a dramatic appreciation of the relationship of their immediate task to the national effort. In connection with women's labor, there had to be special consideration of day nurseries and of the opening hours of beauty parlors. So with each and every one of the political necessities I mentioned. They provide new patterns of associations and ideas and therefore, potentially, new patterns of dramatic statement.

Where this approach has been made, the documentary film has prospered. It is an approach that works, and it will work even better as education realizes its close creative relationship with political and social development and as the film makers realize that political necessity does not exclude, and may well encourage, the possibility of art. One can cite the repute of the British documentary group in both educational and aesthetic circles and the beginning of something of the same repute for the much younger Canadian group. Nor were "The River" and other important American documentary films the less remarkable for being created in the public service. A wave of documentary films is sweeping over many countries today. If, as I suggest, its motive force is not the incidental interests of education or art *per se* but political necessity, it is not likely to be stopped. And its importance in international relations must be recognized.

The picture I see in Canada is of audiences gathering all over the country, in schools, village halls, factories, trade-union halls, to study the various perspectives of their work and citizenship. There are women who want to know about nutrition; there are groups interested in country libraries or larger school districts; there are people who want to see how distant communities are facing the common problems of health and housing, town planning, and the rest. I note, as a producer, that there is no end to the professional and civic matters they wish to know more about. I note that the service of traveling projectors moving from village to village, begun by the federal government, is now a cooperative service carried on by provincial authorities, national associations, trade unions, cooperatives, and service clubs, and that the federal government could not control this widespread interest in civic understanding even if it would.

This picture I see in Canada is already, I know, matched in Great Britain, and there are signs that it will be progressively matched in France, Holland, Belgium, South Africa, Australia, Norway, and Sweden. Certain of the South American republics have also been studying these developments and are likely to see the opportunities offered by them. The appointment of Jean Painlevé as Film Commissioner of France and of Joris Ivens as Film Commissioner of the Dutch East Indies, both "documentary" men in the sense I have described, is significant for the future of this type of film.

Its prospects in the United States are difficult to assess at present. There is a very large non-theatrical audience sprawling somewhat haphazardly across the country, much of it dedicated to the service of an old-time pedagogic curriculum which, one imagines, is often distant from the living requirements of citizenship. On the other hand, the country is rich in film libraries, which receive eagerly everything other nations have to show. The educational film work of the various departments in Washington has not been so inconsiderable as many assert. Though there has been no coordination of the government's whole interest in films, the Departments of Agriculture, the Interior, the Treasury, and Labor, the Mines Bureau, the OWI and the OSS, have made large contributions in the fields of technical and civic interest. And they have inspired still more. It is unthinkable that the United States should be behind in a field for which it is so brilliantly equipped.

I cannot imagine any more important development in international communications than the arrival of the various nations at similar educational techniques through the examination of social needs, for they are thereby creating common audiences for common considerations. By and large Canada's problems with respect to housing, safety in factories, public health, and regional planning are not different from those of the United States, and there is no reason why we should not plan our production schedules together and each have the advantage of a larger and more thorough program. It appears certain that we shall presently get down to such common schedules in many fields, and I have no doubt that Britain will want to come in, and France, and others too.

It is only simple sense that a country should make records of its achievements from which other countries may learn. England, for example, has much to teach other countries about the operation of labor-management committees. The United States has much to teach about regional planning and the use of building materials, about household economy, about plumbing. Smaller countries may have something to offer in

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the field of medical or industrial research, prenatal care, or physical fitness. Even the Eskimos may contribute from their superior knowledge of how to survive in the Arctic.

Some of us who have devoted our working lives to this aspect of international exchange have long thought that national propaganda, as such, was of secondary importance. We have thought, for example, that England was only partially appreciating its international responsibility when it kept inflicting on the world its pretty pictures of the Horse Guards parade and the leisure of the English countryside. Fortunately this parochial and insufficient policy is passing. In the United States, too, if one may judge from the medical series sent out by the State Department, the national approach to international communication may presently be abandoned.

The UNRRA, the ILO—or whatever international labor organization succeeds the ILO—the contemplated internationale of education initiated by the Conference of Education Ministers of the United Nations, provide machinery for the international exchange of the living materials of social progress. And the peoples of the world are already inundating the foreign offices of the United Nations with requests for such information. It would seem, in fact, that the old complacent concept of exchanging "culture" is being succeeded by something else. All over the world people are demonstrating that they are interested in the same essentials of food and housing and health. It is inevitable, therefore, that the information and educational services and the films which speak for them should get down to the same simple but lively realities.

[*This is the second of a series of four articles. The third, Hollywood Goes to War, by Dorothy Jones, will appear next week.*]

Production First

BY STUART CHASE

WHAT can be done to curb the pressure groups and end the recurring deadlocks which are growing so disastrous for us all?

Various partial remedies have been proposed. None of them is a cure-all, but Americans should be grown-up enough by this time to stop looking for cure-alls. The first remedy that leaps to mind is legislation. "There ought to be a law." There is now no federal legislation regulating lobbies. Sixteen states have adopted laws requiring lobbies to register and furnish financial statements, but lobby laws generally contain no satisfactory definition of what constitutes legitimate lobbying.

Publicity could be a powerful safeguard. There are always some Washington newspapermen who take their responsibility seriously and expose Me First campaigns whenever they can. These reporters need the vigilance of a detective, the adroitness of a lawyer, and the courage of a crusader. They may lose their social popularity or even their jobs; they run a constant risk of libel suits. Some of them meet the test, but there is room for far more publicity.

Organizations of consumers and white-collar workers can accomplish a good deal. Kenneth Crawford calls them "the most hopeful developments of the last few years." Here is a point where the individual citizen can lend a hand, joining consumer groups and cooperatives. Two recent developments have given the consumer movement a great impetus —first and chiefly, the OPA, with its ceiling prices and encouragement to customers, housewives, and plain citizens; second, those labor organizations which have acted as gadfly to the OPA. The cost-of-living figures of the C. I. O. were severely criticized on technical grounds, but the effect of their publication was to express a strong political demand for price control.

The OPA is an example of government representation for an economic group, even though that group comprises the entire population. In practice it is people in the lower brackets that receive most protection, as they should. Whenever the government is able to give an economic group legitimate representation—as the Farm Security Administration represented marginal farmers—it forestalls the organization of a lobby.

Controlling Monopoly

Turning to the urgent problem of controlling monopoly, what methods do we find have been proposed for that? We have seen many examples of how uncontrolled monopolies, whether of business men, workers, or farmers, can seriously hurt modern communities. If some folks refuse to produce, other folks are going to suffer. Even if the goods can be spared, the purchasing power cannot. If restriction of output is widespread, the whole economy begins to lose its balance.

Furthermore, as pointed out earlier, inflexible prices and other monopolistic practices might well make it impossible to get full employment through compensatory fiscal devices. As fast as the government closed the dollar circuit, the monopolies could open gaps in it again. This might result in an uncontrolled inflation, as the Treasury threw its dollars into a bottomless pit.

William L. Batt, head of S. K. F. Industries, president of the National Planning Association, and a high official of the WPB, delivered a solemn warning to fellow business men:

> Business will largely determine the size of the [postwar] demand, depending on whether it goes on a high-priced line or a low-priced line. I have already indicated, in advancing the program of more goods for more people at lower prices, that the National Planning Association believes the tendency of business must be toward lower and lower price levels.

Mr. Batt in effect comes out for the dollar-watch formula —one excellent remedy for the worst evil of monopoly. Wherever monopolies jack up price levels, choke off de-

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mand, block the machines from running, they should be blasted out of the way. Where they aid the machines to run better, they should be encouraged. In the case of a power grid, a monopoly helps the machines; a tangle of competing transmission lines makes no sense. But if the power grid is so controlled as to restrict its service and charge high rates, a little competition may have to be introduced, such as the "yardstick" of the TVA.

A given monopoly should not be condemned because it is a monopoly, but rather *on the basis of its actual effect upon the economy.* Regular monthly publication of the percentage of output to capacity in a monopolistic enterprise would furnish an eloquent prima facie index of whether or not it was slowing down the machines.

Useful and Harmful Monopolies

A careful study should be made of monopolies that have no excuse for being except greed and of those that are technologically justified. The first can perhaps be broken up by Thurman Arnold's type of sausage grinder, under the Sherman Act, and forced back into the field of free competition. I say perhaps, because some may be too big to be broken up without excessive social damage. The second type—which have some real justification—can legally be regulated, like other activities affected with a public interest. How? Here are some suggested methods:

1. Make them register their agreements with public authority and generally conduct their operations in a goldfish bowl.

2. Have public authority fix their prices or profits, as in the case of public utilities.

3. Operate yardsticks, like the TVA, to hold their prices in line. Here is where some of the war plants—say, the aluminum factories—might come in handy.

4. Encourage cooperative associations to compete with them. This has been very effective in Sweden, where the electric-light-bulb trust was broken.

5. Encourage little business to compete by making capital cheap, or by giving little business priorities in operating war plants, or both.

6. Revise the patent law so that great corporations cannot tie up an industry in perpetuity, entangling all newcomers in the hopeless barbed wire of infringement suits.

7. Enforce output quotas by public authority in cases where a monopoly shows signs of going quietly to sleep at 50 per cent of capacity.

8. Require the federal incorporation of companies.

Finally, and as a last resort, if a monopoly cannot be brought to serve the public interest by any of these regulatory methods, the government should take over full control.

There seems to be no escape from this logic. We might put it in the form of a syllogism: Monopolies restrict output. Irresponsible restriction of output is intolerable in modern societies. Therefore monopolies must be controlled. The only legitimate power to do this is the state. The alternative would seem to be an increasing rigidity, until the economy cracked apart. At which point, in not a few modern countries, a dictator has taken over, and the state has intervened in far more unpleasant forms. People who insist that we must have fewer monopolies and at the same time less government interference seem to be arguing in circles.

Same Medicine for Unions

Labor unions are in effect monopolies in the labor market. They prevent wages from falling according to the unfettered play of supply and demand. If the unions manipulate the wage structure in the interest of restriction of output, preventing the performance of work which needs to be done or crowding two men on a job which one can readily do, public opinion may come down on them harder than on big business monopolies. Unions as well as business men need to apply the dollar-watch formula. By keeping wage rates reasonable they can often earn more annual take-home pay.

If organized labor will identify its own interest with that of the public, it has an unlimited future. This does not mean singing patriotic songs and letting collective bargaining slide. It means getting behind a program to hold the national income around $150,000,000,000, and employment around 57,000,000 jobs. It means working with the Committee for Economic Development, if that committee has a similar objective, or with the National Association of Manufacturers, or the veterans' organizations, or with anyone traveling that road. It means getting behind measures for social security, medical care, broader education facilities, and decent housing, for all Americans. It means lining up for pure food and drug laws, grade labeling, better standards for consumers. It means carrying forward some of the exciting new techniques for adjusting workers and their work.

Labor-Management Committees

The labor movement usually moves through three stages. The first stage is to form a union where there was none before. Leaders are fighters. Management fights back.

The second stage is collective bargaining. The union has been accepted as bargaining agent for the workers. Leaders are negotiators; most of the tough babies have gone. The tussle around the bargaining table is about which side gets the biggest slice of a fixed pie. Labor tries to get more wages; management tries to get more profits.

The third stage is joint action by workers and managers to increase output, improve quality, reduce waste, and so make a *bigger pie to divide.* The consumer gets into this division.

The war has suddenly plunged thousands of plants, employing millions of workers, into stage three. Managers are sitting down with union representatives in an attempt to increase production and quality, and hasten the destruction of the Axis. There are now labor-management committees in more than 5,000 plants. They should be continued after the war.

Why Workers Work

The unions also have an opportunity to join with the industrial psychologists in solving the cardinal problem of factory work. As it stands, it is an unnatural way of life. "The sharp regular daily division between work and play is a condition that must have been virtually unknown throughout the long ages of pre-factory history," says Barbara Wootton in "Lament for Economics."

The studies of the Western Electric Company at their Hawthorne plant, made over a fifteen-year period, throw a flood of light on what makes workers work. It is not pri-

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marily money; it is not nicely spaced rest periods, or the intensity of the lighting, or short hours, or a dandy gymnasium and ball field. *It is the sense that the worker is important to the plant, that he belongs, that society has a place for him.* Give him that and his output curve goes through the roof!

The unions are the logical people to initiate, support, and push forward these new techniques. They are the logical people to work out a practical plan for an annual wage, whereby the employee may accept a lower hourly rate in return for a secure annual income. The C. I. O. steelworkers are proposing such a plan as I write. A number of concerns have already adopted it in a limited way. I think it is probably as inevitable as collective bargaining. The principle is simple: Would you rather get $20 a day for 100 days in the year, or $10 a day for a full 300 days?

Family-sized Farms

Most individual farmers do not believe that their interests should surpass those of any other group, or that they should be able to hold up Congress for special dispensations at will. They believe that they have had a tough break in the past—true; and will have another after the war unless someone gives them a hand—again true. But if they are going to depend for that help on the farm bloc in Congress and the Farm Bureau Federation, they had better exert some rank-and-file control over them.

A long-range reform would correct the situation in Congress which allows a minority of citizens to control a majority of Senators. A more immediate measure would be to divorce the Farm Bureau Federation from the County Agents' offices. As the only authorities which could do this are Congress again and the Department of Agriculture, the outlook is not any too radiant.

The best referent for the "American way" is not the little business man, a comparative newcomer, but the family farm, which started just back of Plymouth Rock in 1620. The skids are under it now, with the Farm Bureau and the Associated Farmers lined up for the big commercial outfits. If the family-sized farm is to be saved, together with the way of life it stands for, some pretty strong medicine is needed.

The Farm Security Administration, or something like it, must continue to encourage self-reliance by helping the small farmer to help himself. Furthermore, the small farmer will need cooperatives on both sides of him—cooperative buying of fertilizers, feeds, farm machinery; cooperative marketing to protect him from the organized middlemen. He must also have access to conservation programs where he can join with his fellow-farmers up and down the creek to hold and enrich his soil. *He cannot go it alone.* For agriculture as a whole, as I said before, the biggest single reform would be the war demand carried over into the peace by full employment. When workers have jobs, farmers have prosperity.

The Constructive Note

I have touched on only a few of the remedies proposed for a better ordering of pressure groups after the war. What is needed even more than remedial plans at this stage is competent analysis, an authoritative survey to show who is responsible for what in this humming, complicated power age. But most of all we need a realization that our personal interest is bound up with the national interest.

In April, 1944, a group of fifteen business men, fifteen labor leaders, and twenty farm leaders signed a joint statement for the National Planning Association at Washington. They agreed that if soldiers return to sell apples, "we will have lost the war." No economic group, they said, is self-sufficient; all depend upon each other. The terms "Business," "Labor," "Agriculture" lose their capital letters and become "We, the people," when we realize that "all the millions of us are consumers." Each of the three groups then made a separate statement, and I would like to quote from them.

> We of the Business Committee recognize that management is dependent upon labor to man the machines and provide new capital from its savings. We recognize the principle of collective bargaining as a sound and fair American principle. We also know that what most men and women want for the future is a sense of security against unemployment, sickness, and destitute old age, together with a feeling of participation. . . .
>
> We of the Labor Committee recognize that labor is dependent upon management to furnish the over-all "know how," to organize technical and commercial research . . . and to attract from private savers the new capital necessary to a sound and growing economy
>
> We of the Agricultural Committee in turn recognize that agriculture is dependent upon business and labor; that there cannot be profitable markets for our products except as the rest of the nation prospers, and has the means to buy.

Among the business men were David C. Prince of General Electric, Beardsley Ruml, Guy Emerson. Among the labor men were Clinton Golden, Walter Reuther, Robert Watt. Among the agricultural men were Thad Snow of Missouri, Donald Murphy of *Wallaces' Farmer,* Allen B. Kline of the Iowa Farm Bureau. I cannot remember anything like this ever happening before. There seems to be no ulterior motive. The gentlemen have apparently come to the sensible conclusion that it is best to hang together, as the problems of the post-war world climb up the sky like thunderheads.

European nations—or better, the continent as a whole—will have to be planned to survive at all after the devastations, migrations, shortages, property entanglements, of this war. It is even proposed that the United Nations should delegate a commission to direct the German economy for an indefinite period. Britain, owing to its bombed cities and its staggering loss of foreign investments, must manage its economy for many years. Russia of course will be planned to the last thumbtack. Only in America will conditions be favorable for maintaining a wide area of free enterprise, with planning confined to a few key points. We have the time, and the margin of national resources, to continue our institutions with a minimum of change—provided the American people unite in a program to level out the business cycle, underwrite a high level of employment, and bring monopolies under control; which means, at bottom, provided the American people learn to discipline themselves.

[This is the last of a series of three articles taken from Mr. Chase's forthcoming book, "Democracy Under Pressure," a report to the Twentieth Century Fund.]

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Will America Back Out?

BY REINHOLD NIEBUHR

AMERICAN liberal and progressive opinion is not playing a very creative role in the rapidly deteriorating international situation. The liberal and labor circles of Britain have been critical primarily of the policy of their own government. That is the true function of the critical minority in any nation, though the natural tendency everywhere is to be unduly critical of other peoples and to be self-righteous in estimating the policy of one's own nation. Liberal opinion in America has not fulfilled the true function of a minority in recent months. Either its criticism has been directed primarily against Russia and Britain upon the tacit or explicit assumption that American policies stand on a higher ground, or it has followed the old line of fellow-travelers and assumed the basic virtue of Russia. Both of these positions betray a lack of critical vigor and failure to comprehend the complexities of the international situation.

The crisis in Greece points to an understanding at Teheran —assigning Greece to the British sphere of influence—which the Russian government seems to be scrupulously honoring but which the Communist Party in Greece is not bound by. Greece thus points to two difficulties in the European situation. One is that no better solution than the division of Europe into spheres of influence seems to have been arrived at. The other is that the ideological instruments in Russia's possession enable it to extend its sphere of influence beyond the boundary assigned to it in any international agreement. This raises the specter of a Russia-dominated Europe, a specter responsible for the note of hysteria in Churchill's policies.

Pro-Russian liberalism in America does not estimate this problem realistically, feeling that the Russian policy of supporting the radical resistance movements is ideologically more correct than the general tendency of the Western world to support conservative governments in Europe. It is perfectly correct to condemn the Western policy not only because of its lack of democratic justice but also because of its futility. The more the West plays that game the more pawns it throws into Russian hands. The Russians would have to possess a superhuman disinterestedness not to avail themselves of the advantages which our policy gives them. But it is wrong to assume that Russia can unify the Continent or give it economic health. There are two reasons why it cannot do so. The revolutionary forces on the Continent which Russia can and does use as instruments of its policy are actually weakened by the general knowledge that they are such instruments. Conservatism has sufficient moral and political resources in Western Europe to prevent the Russian domination of the whole of Europe. If present tendencies continue, many a liberated nation may actually sink into anarchy or civil war because of the impossibility of uniting the nation on a radical policy oriented, in fact or supposedly, toward Russia. The second reason why Russia alone cannot bring peace to the Continent is that Britain and, covertly, America will not submit to such a solution. In other words, a sphere-of-influence solution of the European problem will lead to another war, no matter whether the West or Russia dominates Europe. Neither side has sufficient strength to prevent the other side from seeking to challenge its domination. Even if a sphere-of-influence solution were rigorously maintained in the sense that each side scrupulously refrained from poaching on the territory of the other, Europe could find no final peace upon that basis. Naturally if the present tendency to undermine agreements which have assigned various spheres to Britain and Russia prevails, the coming peace will be even more short-lived. It will, in fact, not outlast the war fatigue. There is thus no hope in a Russia-dominated peace and no justification for a liberalism which gives Russia uncritical support either because the critic is spiritually bound to Russia, as the real fellow-travelers are, or because the critic is outraged by the conservatism of Western policy.

On the other hand, that liberalism is equally inadequate which assumes that America has a vantage-point of international virtue from which it can survey, and be offended by, the power politics of Russia and Britain upon the Continent. Such a liberalism merely proves that it is unable to discern the hidden realities of international politics while it fastens its eye upon the obvious facts of Russia's policy toward Poland and Britain's policy toward Greece. The fact is that America's threat to international accord is more subtly expressed and more difficult to apprehend than the policies of Russia and Britain. This is not the fault of any American statesman but inherent in the total situation. In the first place, our power is primarily economic rather than political; and economic power is always less obvious. We are outraged by what we call the power politics of the European nations, but the European nations recall that the aviation conference broke down because we refused to allow any international checks to be placed upon our air power. At every turn, while we assume an air of injured innocence, the world is wondering just how we will use the tremendous preponderance of economic power which we undoubtedly have. It must be observed furthermore that we are, naturally enough, more inclined to throw our weight around in the economic sphere because we lack the political points of contact to do so in the political sphere. The very sense of frustration of a nation which has preponderant military power in the hour of crisis and preponderant economic power after the crisis but none of the political pawns used by other nations is a hazard to America's continuing responsibility in the community of nations. For it produces that nice mixture of nationalistic and idealistic isolationism which the other nations fear.

This brings us to the second hidden source of America's threat to world peace—our potential isolationism. We may pride ourselves upon our explicit defeat of isolationism in the last election, but Europe can still not be sure that we will remain in the peace. The hazards are still very great. There is the geographic fact that we are not a European

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nation as the other two great powers are, and even the liveliest imagination does not completely overcome geographic limitations. There is the historical fact that we do not need a system of mutual security as obviously or as immediately as other nations do, and that we have not been shaken to the foundations of our national life as they have been. There is the constitutional hazard that one-third of the Senate can still frustrate the will of the majority of the American people. All these hazards and several others which might be mentioned make it uncertain that America will remain in the peace—and therefore tempt the other nations to take such precautions as seem expedient. Consideration of such hazards gives at least partial justification for the Russian desire for unilateral security and also for the British desire to establish some vantage-points upon the Continent which will prevent Russia from dominating it exclusively.

Some of our international idealists are outraged by the fact that the Russian and British policies upon the Continent have increased the difficulty of getting even such a minimal accord as the Dumbarton Oaks agreement passed in the Senate. They forget that the Russian and British policies are partly the outgrowth of apprehensions about the possibility of such an accord becoming the fixed policy of America in the first place. Furthermore, the very high-sounding and moralistic inferential criticisms of the Russian policy toward Poland and of the British policy toward Greece expressed by Secretary Stettinius, and hailed by some liberals as proving the virtue of our position, have increased European apprehensions. We applaud the virtuous sentiment that every nation should be allowed to choose its government freely and that boundaries should be changed only by mutual consent. But Europe detects in these sentiments a new isolationism, coming out of the very heart of an Administration which had presumably defeated isolationism. I think Europe is right; for we washed our hands of all detailed decisions in Europe through the statements of the Secretary of State. We did this after probably having agreed to them in principle at Teheran; but we found it unwise from the standpoint of domestic politics to abide by the Teheran agreement. We are telling Europe that we do not like what they are doing, but the very vagueness of our criticism is a symbol of our withdrawal from Europe. These statements have driven the otherwise prudent and circumspect British weekly, the *Economist*, to a furious attack upon our policies.

The vicious circle is complete. Our policy, or the lack of certainty about our future policy, prompts Europe to action which increases the danger of the American errors of omission. The fear of our isolationism and of the unilateral expression of American economic power drives European powers into unilateral policies of security, which in turn make our isolationism more probable.

We could not get out of this vicious circle by deciding to become both more responsible and more imperialistic and carving a section out of Europe as our sphere of influence. There are no historical presuppositions for such a policy; and in any event it would not solve the problem of Europe and the world. Nor can we get out of the circle merely by pious criticisms of Europe and implied threats of withdrawal. We could get out of the circle only if we had a program for Europe and the world which would offer economic health and political stability, which would ally rather than alienate the harassed and disquieted masses of Europe, and which would prevent the domination of Europe by either Russia or the West. This does not mean that a new Wilsonian program would save us. It would have to be more realistic, and certainly more economic, than that. America lacks sufficient stakes in Europe on the present level of economic and political policies. It could find them only on a much higher level. It is not likely that the higher level will be achieved. This will not be the mistake of this or that statesman, though a very great statesman can occasionally create a higher level of policy than the available political resources seem to warrant. The difficulty lies in our whole historical situation. The wealthiest democracy and wealthiest nation on earth has too many immediate aims for the maintenance of its economic power and too many illusions about the possibility of maintaining "free enterprise" in a pauperized world to give the leadership needed for a sane solution of the world's problems.

The American failure is, of course, no greater, but also certainly no less, than the failure of the other nations. The fact is that the resources for a creative approach to the global problem are lacking in every nation. Britain clings desperately to its imperial and political resources because of its very consciousness of weakness in the economic realm. America exploits its economic power the more obviously because it lacks both political experience and instruments of world political power. Russia is still suffering from the fear of the capitalistic world, a fear which is partly justified by past events and partly the product of Communist dogma. Its Communist universalism has disintegrated, moreover, into a Russian nationalistic fervor and will to power.

We are living in a tragic age in which the available moral and political resources are not sufficient for the task in hand. We can now only hope for an approximation of the needed solution. Even that will elude us if Americans fail to understand their own contribution to the failures and errors of our time. For in that event disappointed American idealists will again play into the hands of American cynics. Already liberal criticisms of Britain and Russia have an ominously similar accent to those which the Chicago *Tribune* peddles daily in its columns.

Britain's Role in Europe

A British policy that was openly and blatantly hostile to the forces of the left would put this country in the position of Metternich rather than of Palmerston and without any Holy Alliance to support us.

This is the last role that Britain should hope to play. If we are to take sides, our side is with the liberals. Britain is a democracy. It is a stronghold of freedom. . . . What interest has such a community with kings and princes? What interest has it in bringing back the old discredited forces which nowhere resisted the advance of Hitlerism and have done nothing since to turn the invader out?

A Britain radical in mood and liberal in foreign policy has a great role to play in Europe. Britain, friend of royalists and reactionaries, has none.

(*The London* Economist *on "The Greek Disaster."*)

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How to Lose Friends in France

BY JULES MOCH

Paris, December 21, 1944

THE average Frenchman, the man on the street, fails to realize to what extent the American people, under the deft, tenacious, and vigorous leadership of President Roosevelt have won a triple victory over themselves; first, by freeing themselves of the concept of neutrality; secondly, by changing the concept of "cash and carry" to that of "lend-lease"; and, thirdly, by sending their sons to fight and die on a continent so distant and, in a sense, so secondary for them.

There has been a tendency here to magnify certain minor incidents growing out of the exuberance of American soldiers, so different from the reserve of the British. The ready cash which Americans displayed in North Africa created an uneasiness among Frenchmen, who were too much inclined to hold the visitors responsible for the black market and the spread of vice. Again, I think the French were wrong to impute to the Americans imperialistic designs on Indo-China, the French West Indies, and Dakar, and seek some confirmation of their suspicion in the slightest gesture and the most insignificant word. But if I voice the *mea culpa* of my compatriots in these matters, I ask *Nation* readers to search the collective conscience of their countrymen.

American misunderstanding of French psychology has proved costly during this war. Many expensive mistakes have been made which cannot be repaired, but it is not too late to correct certain errors still being committed. The State Department placed its money on Darlan and Giraud, and lost; it bet against De Gaulle and lost again. It believed that there would be a split between France and the committees of national liberation set up in London and Algiers; it was wrong. It rectified its position finally by giving up the idea of establishing an AMG in France, which would have been catastrophic for Franco-American friendship, and recognizing General De Gaulle's Provisional Government.

Recently the American government has dealt another blow to Franco-American friendship by its handling of German prisoners and its disposition of the prizes of war. German prisoners taken by the Americans receive the same food and clothing as American soldiers—that is, they are fed and clothed much better than French civilians. I know that this is in accordance with recognized international conventions, but to the long-suffering people of France it seems unjust.

Americans can still afford to fight this war as good sportsmen, but the French are fighting it in hate. American civilians have never been in the front line. They have not even known the terrors of a blitz or the senseless destruction of V-1 and V-2. And neither America nor England has known enemy occupation with its massacres and its deportations. Can Americans understand the full meaning to Frenchmen of the fact that one Frenchman out of every fourteen has been deported? In many circles there is not a single family that does not mourn some member who has been killed or has disappeared, that does not tremble for the fate of relatives herded into cattle cars and shipped to camps where death is dealt out wholesale in gas chambers and electric pools. Can Americans measure the hate which Frenchmen of all classes and opinions feel today for the Germans?

"For two years I haven't had a morsel of chocolate for my children," a father said to me. "The Americans give it to their Boche prisoners." The reasoning may be too simple, but it expresses an almost universal feeling. Moreover, the French feel that the Allies now have almost enough prisoners to be in a position to threaten the Nazis with reprisals and to force them to stop killing those foreign hostages who have miraculously survived the lugubrious convoys of deportees. Surely the French and Russian martyrs will not be saved by giving German prisoners warm clothes, chocolate, and cigarettes.

Prizes of war, according to the American high command, include orders for goods placed by Germany with French industry but not delivered at the time of the liberation. Though the need in France for these very goods may be desperate, the French government cannot obtain possession of them or distribute them. For example, at a time when clothing tickets were no longer honored and no shirts were available for Frenchmen except on the black market, where they cost fifty times their pre-war price, a large stock of shirts originally destined for the Wehrmacht remained impounded as a prize of war.

On one occasion the poorly armed soldiers of the French Forces of the Interior, struggling to drive the Germans from the pockets of Lorient, St. Nazaire, and La Rochelle, were prevented from appropriating a stock of abandoned enemy arms because these arms were considered prizes of war. In the hands of F. F. I. members they would have saved American as well as French lives. But the Americans refused to release them.

Equally galling to the French was the case of the overcoats made by a collaborationist manufacturer for the German army. As winter approached, men of the F. F. I. were fighting on the western front in ragged uniforms, without sweaters, wearing sandals or sabots on their feet. They would have liked to cover their rags with the seized overcoats; and they would have liked to wreak that much revenge on the collaborationist. Impossible; the coats were prizes of war. The American authorities ordered the manufacturer to complete the consignment and then distributed the coats among German prisoners. The average Frenchman was outraged, not only because the *poilus* had to go without coats while German prisoners were warmly clad, but because the affair made it seem that collaboration was its own reward.

Such incidents may be of minor importance, but they touch Frenchmen in the quick. And piled one upon the other, they are undermining the traditional Franco-American friendship.

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Letter from Rome

[*The following letter was recently received from Italy by a person well known to* The Nation.]

DEAR M——: It is not without emotion that I sit down to write you after such a long silence. And it is with a lightening of the spirit that I get ready to type without the need for paraphrasing, allusions, coded postscripts, and all that inconvenient and dangerous baggage that the fascist malefactors obliged us decent folk to carry—though this was one of the smallest of the many crosses which bowed us down. The hurricane has passed, or rather we have touched the bottom of the abyss into which we were thrown, and the astonishing thing is that we are still alive.

Now for the facts. All my efforts to leave this unfortunate country were interrupted by the outbreak of war, which found me with one foot out and one foot still in. I thought then that to get out with one foot, cutting off the other, would have made me helpless. So I remained. Was I wrong? Even today I can't say. Anyway I stayed here, and feeling that I couldn't keep my hands in my pockets but that it was my duty to fight the malefactors who were ruining not only us but the whole world, I began a double life—not an easy one, I assure you. We anti-Fascists have "lived dangerously," as the Duce used to preach. A double life—the irreproachable functionary on one side, and the saboteur, the conspirator, the fighting anti-Fascist on the other. It was necessary because the sad truth was this: to free Italy and the world from Nazi-Fascism we Italians had to lose the war, and therefore each one of our acts had to lead to that goal. With this concept quite clear in my mind I gave myself over entirely to the work. Privation, poverty, hunger, danger, all had to be met day after day, hour after hour, if thereby I could hasten by a single hour the collapse of Nazi-Fascism; it was the certain duty of every civilized man to do so. I had to rent my house, sell my organ, live in the house of my in-laws, and give up mountain climbing and everything else so that I could save money for the resistance movement. Then began the harsh task.

Production, railroads, the handling of strategic materials—all gave an opportunity for obstructionism and sabotage. It was a dangerous game, requiring a good deal of shrewdness and ability. The incitements of the Anglo-American radio did not fall on deaf ears. I could tell you of hundreds of tons of glycerine diverted for the manufacture of explosives. The same for steel and iron. And there was much disorganization of repair work. Orders sent by mail—to relieve the over-burdened telegraph, of course—were written perhaps not too clearly so that it often took six months to get something done that should have been done in one. Many ruses were necessary to avoid suspicion and to prevent the ruin in one day of the labor of months.

The liberal movement which had its origins in the old Justice and Liberty groups fitted my ideas like a glove and I entered it. I made good use of my official railway pass to do propaganda work in all parts of Italy, to distribute clandestine leaflets, to collect funds and food for the party men, for the persecuted, for the imprisoned, and for the patriot bands. There were the Jews to help. There were documents to be falsified, refugees to be sheltered, food to be provided without ration cards, and hidden persons to be protected. How many fake documents were issued in my name as a functionary of unquestioned integrity! It was in this field that we made our first slip. A man was arrested who carried one of these false identification cards. Before the police confronted us with each other, what acrobatics we had to perform to get together on our stories! The affair ended miraculously with my release as a dupe of unpardonable irresponsibility who had allowed himself to be fooled by a Jew into attesting an unproved identity. And to think that if the police had only gone to the trouble of examining the general registry they would have found dozens of such identifications under my name!

In order to let the Allies know how and with what the Germans were supplying the front, we furnished daily reports on German railway movements—the type, quantity, and destination of shipments—and indicated the vital points in the north that should be bombed to stop them. This had the further aim of reducing to a minimum the deaths of civilians and damage to cities and monuments. Every day certain secret radios would broadcast. Can you realize how hard it was to organize all this and keep it going under the eyes of the S. S. and the Fascist police?

The Allies were a little slow in catching on at first; then they saw the effects and believed in us. Every once in a while someone slipped, and we heard no more from him. Arrested, tortured, shot? There followed anxiety without end and fearful difficulties to overcome in reestablishing the interrupted contacts. Sleepless nights, with ears tensed for the motor of a car stopping in our street, for the sound of a footstep heavier than usual on the stairs. Police? S. S.? Leaving one's house, roaming from hole to hole to cover one's tracks, cold, hungry, miserable, one's wife sought by the police, one's in-laws arrested as Jews. My wife hid first in a convent, then worked as a maid in various houses in Rome, with false papers showing her to be an évacuée from a town occupied by the Allies. Her last service was in the house of old P. B., who had been released after eight months in the Regina Coeli jail for anti-Fascists.

On the night of September 9, 1943, a bomb destroyed my house completely. You remember my house motto, "Open to the sun and friends"? It was an Italian bomb, dropped by Fascist plane the night after the armistice.

When on June 4 we got our first view of American tanks, it was barely in time. We were exhausted and could not have held out any longer. Another ten days and we should have been gone—deported or dead.

Instead, we are still here, but not all of us. Too many of the best of us are missing at roll call. We who now remain must now rebuild. Shall we succeed? In the beginning we must, above all, fight against the Fascists. Let all who have lived outside this hell remember: the Fascists are the number one enemy; the Nazis are number two. The Germans would not have been able to carry out their infamies against Italy had not the Fascists, fortunately a small minority of Italians, helped them. The Fascists, paid by the Germans, spied upon us real Italians, denouncing, imprisoning, torturing, shooting. And these same Fascists today, with amazing cynicism,

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seek to disguise themselves, to mingle with the Allies, to save their disgustingly acquired positions. To clean house, we need an honest government composed of honest men who will not deviate by a millimeter from the right path, which is to root out fascism—a process only in small part political, in great part educational.

First of all our people must again be made honest, diligent, and decent. You know the old saying, "Italy is made; now we must make the Italians"? Today it would be more correct to say, "We must first make the new Italians; later we can think of making Italy." This task will take decades. I shall certainly not live to see it finished.

There is much need for understanding between us and the Allies. For more than a month I have been working here on the railroads with R. A. F. officials, and you should see how they gape when I tell them about what we have suffered and how we Italians fought on their side. They are particularly amazed at the atrocities. "We thought it was only propaganda," they say. The other day I invited them to a little party—very little, since I am now so poor—where they spoke with men, women, and girls who in all modesty and sincerity told them of the tortures inflicted by the S. S., of the massacres carried out by these human beasts. The R. A. F. people could not believe their ears. When we speak of our plans for reconstruction and for sincere collaboration with them, they are at first uncertain but little by little are persuaded. We have to make them realize that in Italy there is still many a sane and serious man who wants to learn from them but from whom they may also have something to learn. In this way, through better understanding, we shall be able to accomplish a more rapid reconstruction and to create a new life based upon the principles of honesty, work, and freedom.

In overcoming all obstacles and the ruin of the war, we shall be reborn. Meanwhile the Germans are gone, I call myself again G—— S——, and I am married to a Jewish girl. You can't realize what it means to be able to write freely so simple a sentence! G. S.

Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

BEFORE dawn on December 16, just as Marshal Rundstedt opened his offensive with a terrific artillery barrage at the spot where Germany, Luxembourg, and Belgium meet, another notable event took place where Germany touches Switzerland—"a sensational illegal crossing of the frontier." That was the expression used by the local Swiss paper, the *Sankt Galler Tagblatt*, when it reported the affair two days later.

A border station near the small Swiss town of Bargen was aroused at four in the morning by the approach of nine persons—two men, two women, and five children—who explained that they had fled from Germany and hoped to find asylum in Switzerland. The conventional questioning brought out that both men were directors of the well-known Messerschmidt company, which manufactures fighter planes for the Luftwaffe in plants scattered all over the country. Their names were kept secret by the Swiss officials—"it could not be ascertained," the report said, "whether Professor Messerschmidt himself was one of them"—but the rest of the story was less carefully guarded. The St. Gall paper was therefore able to inform its readers that the two families had motored from the city of Eisenach, had abandoned their car in the neighborhood of the border, and had crossed the border at night on foot. The reason for their flight—and also the basis for their claim to the right of asylum in Switzerland, was a future danger to their lives. They admitted that up to the moment of their flight they had been in perfectly good standing with the German authorities and had had nothing to fear. But by virtue of their comprehensive view of the German situation, they could see the defeat of the Reich inexorably drawing nearer. At the moment of defeat, they said, they would certainly be threatened in life and limb. And because of this approaching danger, they appealed to Switzerland for the right of asylum.

The affair turned out badly for the directors and their wives. In compliance with a recent decree designed to prevent war criminals from finding a haven in Switzerland, the border station consulted the federal government in Berne. Within forty-eight hours the government decided that the children could remain—children always have the right of asylum—but ruled against the parents. In the first place, it said, a possible future danger to life is not the same as an effective present danger; and, in the second place, this precise type of refugee is politically unwelcome. The Berne government therefore ordered the two directors, with their wives, to be sent back across the border as undesirable foreigners. One day later the *Sankt Galler Tagblatt* rounded out its earlier account with the laconic statement: "The two directors of the Messerschmidt airplane factories who tried to cross the Swiss frontier and were refused admission as undesirable aliens were arrested by German customs officers and transported under heavy guard from the Blumberg customs station to Waldshut, Baden, where the Gestapo took them over."

Whether this was a satisfactory outcome is a not uninteresting question. It is possible, for example, that if the two directors had been allowed to remain in Switzerland they might have become a source of much valuable information for the Allies. But that need not now be considered. At the moment the incident on the Swiss border is noteworthy for the light it throws on the general situation behind the Rundstedt offensive. We do not know whether the two Messerschmidt directors had an idea that the offensive was impending, although it is probable that they did. In any case they were in a position to get a good over-all view of the situation, and they demonstrated most dramatically that to them it looked hopeless.

There is no reason for us to see it any differently. Painful as was the recent setback at the front, it has not altered the fundamental fact that the Reich is consuming itself—swiftly, progressively, and without gaining any compensating advantage. A wastrel can draw down his bank account from $100,000 to $10,000 and then to $1,000, and still show no difference in his manner of living. He can keep up his old style until his last dollar is spent. And as long as the Germans still have some capital in the form of man-power they can mount offensives in their old style. It remains true, nevertheless, that their capital is being hopelessly diminished.

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An International Episode

LETTERS OF THOMAS J. WISE TO JOHN HENRY WRENN: A FURTHUR INQUIRY INTO THE GUILT OF CERTAIN NINETEENTH-CENTURY FORGERS. Edited by Fannie E. Ratchford. Alfred A. Knopf. $7.50.

LIFE pulls itself together every now and then to demonstrate with the precision of a practiced pedagogue that art is more literally accurate than we usually believe. Thus, ten years ago, when interest in the detective novel was reaching new heights, two young Englishmen, Carter and Pollard, brought out their "Enquiry into the Nature of Certain Nineteenth Century Pamphlets." The immediate purpose of the "Enquiry" was to demonstrate by the standard devices of detection that some fifty rare Victorian first editions were rank forgeries and to show that the forger was none other than Thomas J. Wise. But since the perpetrator of the wonderful swindle was the prince of British bibliophiles, the creator of the incomparable Ashley Library, and since the science of Victorian bibliography had been undermined by the dean of Victorian bibliographers, it is clear that the ultimate intention of the "Enquiry" was to establish the correctness of the detective-story imagination—that is, to make it more possible than ever before to suppose that the Great Seal had been stolen by the Lord Chancellor himself and that it was the saintly Master of Snubnose who had pickled the Senior Wrangler's corpse in the college buttery.

And now in the midst of the heightened interest in Henry James, life again takes its pedagogic chalk in hand and gives us Fannie E. Ratchford's "Letters of Thomas J. Wise to John Henry Wrenn." Although the bulk of the book is devoted to the business communications which Wise sent to a notable client and victim, the chief interest of the volume lies in Miss Ratchford's long introduction, which undertakes to extend the Carter and Pollard accusation to include personages no less eminent than H. Buxton-Forman and Sir Edmund Gosse. These friends of Wise, Miss Ratchford undertakes to prove, not only accepted and advertised the bogus "editions" but actually assisted Wise in their manufacture. The case against Buxton-Forman is substantial, the case against Gosse less so, but I am not so much concerned to weigh the evidence as to suggest that Miss Ratchford's book constitutes a corroboration of Henry James's imagination. It is, in effect, a Henry James novel in the raw.

Speaking of Wise, Miss Ratchford quietly refers to his "superb holdings of Shelley, Byron, Browning, and other favorites," and that word "holdings," so casually naturalized from the language of the bank and the stock exchange, gives us our clue. We are in the world of "The Spoils of Poynton," in which things of virtue become objects of *virtu* and have their price in hard cold cash. In this world "association value" can be measured to the shilling. Here the early obscurity of a famous poet is a great creator of value because of the smallness of his first editions. But association and scarcity are not enough to create the value of the auction room: beyond these there is the actual literary value of the work, the value as it is created by readers, critics, and scholars. For the investment to be sound there must be a true spiritual value in the object that is bought. And this the collector can estimate very accurately. He does so by means of a faculty we call taste. The notable thing about taste is that the possessor of it can judge spiritual values without being in the least affected by them. We expect that beauty and truth must always have their good effect; but James, like E. M. Forster after him, was inclined to associate taste with crude possessiveness, as in the character of Mrs. Gereth, the owner of Poynton, or even with repressive cruelty, as in Gilbert Osmond of "The Portrait of a Lady." It is worth noting that Wise's letters express scarcely an idea or real emotion about his literary commodities other than ideas and emotions of ownership and price; and he presumably supposed that Mr. Wrenn of Chicago did not expect them of him. This, then, is the world, which James knew so well, of the muses safe in the museum, of the acquisitive emotions at play among the spoils of creation.

Not the least Jamesian element in Miss Ratchford's story is her manner of telling it. An earlier book of hers on the Brontës brought its whiff of the fierce feministic emotions of "The Bostonians," what with its relative indifference to the gentle Emily, its vindictive, even cruel, scorn of brother Branwell, its passionate defense of Charlotte in her least attractive moments, and its wonderful explanation of Charlotte's death: "she died of pregnancy complicated by a cold." But now one must think of Miss Ratchford as a kind of more vehement Henrietta Stackpole, the dour little American nationalist of "The Portrait of a Lady." For Miss Ratchford works the "international theme" to its limit. If American book dealers bought the forgeries and passed them on to American customers, it follows for her that "the forgeries seem to have been fabricated for the particular benefit of Americans." She finds it not without sinister significance that Sir Edmund Gosse was Librarian of the House of Lords. The fraudulence of Wise as a single individual she can see as merely personal, but confronted with a conspiracy of three, she remarks that the affair changes from "an individual crime to a national scandal." The exposition of a scandalous and shocking matter would seem to call for objectivity and tact, but Miss Ratchford produces her evidence with a shrill moral vehemence whose journalistic point and patriotic propriety Miss Stackpole would have understood.

And a conspiracy of guilty Englishmen naturally requires the Jamesian "innocent" American. Miss Ratchford gives him to us in Mr. Wrenn, whose admirable collection—for Wise sold him many fine items in addition to a complete set of the forgeries—is now in Miss Ratchford's charge at the University of Texas. Mr. Matthiessen, in his book on James, questions the veracity of Adam Verver, the millionaire collector of "The Golden Bowl," for Mr. Matthiessen feels that American millionaires of the early century are not adequately

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represented by Maggie Verver's gentle and aesthetic father. I think that Verver is sufficiently substantiated by figures like George Peabody and Spencer Trask, whatever we may think of the full significance of their chivalric idealism, but John Henry Wrenn will also serve to justify James's accuracy of observation. A banker and broker is not generally a likely model of innocence, but with a conspiracy of clever Englishmen besetting him, with one of them his trusted and false friend, for Wrenn said that his connection with Wise was "one of the richest and most satisfying experiences of his life," can a man be granted anything less than what Bertrand Russell called "the superior virtue of the oppressed"? Poor man, he sought the unction of life in literature, and Wise, who was not only a bibliophile but also a dealer in essential oils, sold it to him, throwing in a few forgeries but also one of the richest and most satisfying experiences his customer ever had.

James, who loved to meditate on the relation of money to spirit, would perhaps have judged that Mr. Wrenn bought well, and James would surely have found pleasure in noting Miss Ratchford's wry pride as she hints the distinction of the Wrenn collection in owning the *only complete* set of the great Wise forgeries. LIONEL TRILLING

NOTES BY THE WAY

By MARGARET MARSHALL

GETTING INTO A THEATER these days requires as much forethought and planning as a minor D-day. But by dint of luck and persistence I have managed, within the last two weeks, to see three shows. I was a paying guest—the term is well chosen—at "Harvey" and "The Seven Lively Arts." "On the Town" I saw as Mr. Krutch's delegate, and a report is in order. The seed of "On the Town" was contained in Jerome Robbins's excellent ballet "Fancy Free," which has been such a hit at the Ballet Russe. It has grown, thanks to the eager and tender care of a number of talented people, into a full-blown musical which has charm and freshness and the gaiety generated when a group of amateur professionals put their heads together. It has to do with three sailors on twenty-four hours' leave in New York who set out to find the Miss Turnstiles of the month (Miss Subways to you). They find her of course and a great deal else, including two other girls, the Museum of Natural History, a round of night clubs, the subway itself, and Coney Island. Nedick's in Times Square is their rendezvous. In the course of their tour they turn up more than enough local color, amusing conceits, songs, gay sets, and ingenious ballets to fill an evening.

The three sailors, to begin with, are wonderfully cast. They simply look like any assortment of three sailors you might sight on Broadway, and they speak directly to the feeling one has these days about boys in sailor suits far from home, out on a lark, and only by some unlikely chance mixed up in anything so major as a world war—for better or worse the innocent cut of a sailor's togs belies his reputation both in love and war.

The book is satisfactory, not least because it is free of the senseless complications in which most musical-comedy books get entangled—to be disentangled only at the cost of boredom and embarrassment. This one can be picked up or laid aside as the singing and dancing require, and it is brightly written. It has, strictly speaking, no plot, only a series of incidents and scenes which serve to bring the boys and girls together.

Leonard Bernstein's music is adequate and apropos, but not extraordinary. The specialty numbers are better than the straight songs, with the mild exception of "Lucky to Be Me." Though no one of the dance numbers is as good as the original ballet, the dancing in general has the same qualities that made "Fancy Free" so delightful. It is light but firm, and clean in line. It is the expression of a lively intelligence, and its humor is integral and authentic. Here is modern dancing, and, I might add, indigenous American ballet, which makes use of old skills as well as fresh attitudes and is quite free of the awful pretentiousness which makes most expositions of "the modern dance" excruciating.

Sono Osato's exotic appearance adds an ironic fillip to the broadly amusing conception of Miss Turnstiles; and her easy skill, based on years of ballet discipline, is just what Mr. Robbins's free and fanciful choreography calls for. The two other girls, Nancy Walker and Betty Comden, have their own quite different charms. Miss Comden, by the way, is the co-author of the book—with Adolph Green, who takes the part of one of the sailors.

I HAVE BEEN TRYING vainly to get some information about Jean Bruller, who was revealed some time ago to be the author of "Silence of the Sea," one of the books issued by the French underground publishers, Les Editions de Minuit. Even people who had lived steadily in France for years before the war had never heard of him. "Silence of the Sea" was a strange little book. To many people it smelled of collaboration. It was highly praised in some quarters as a piece of writing, though it struck me as rather strainedly restrained. A few weeks ago *Life* printed a "Plea for France" by M. Bruller, which was merely strained. It had in a word the feverish simplicity of people who write for dear *Life*. In a foreword the author was described as a young illustrator, which left me just where I was before.

I can't say even now that I've found out who Jean Bruller is. But I was given a rather anti-climactic turn the other day when I happened to look at the book I had been using for weeks as a writing board. I had chosen one of those large thin books designed for children, and it happened to be the American edition, published in 1940, of André Maurois's "Fatapoufs and Thinifers," translated by Rosemary Benét and illustrated by—Jean Bruller. It's an amusing book and the illustrations are clever. The story ends to be sure with collaboration between the Fatapoufs and Thinifers, who have been wrangling for years over an island; and Maurois is considered to have followed an extremely equivocal line politically. But M. Bruller's drawings are quite harmless, and I'm convinced, pending further evidence, that he *is* simply a young illustrator who turned to writing for the French underground press, wrote a book which had a great success abroad, and is now, perhaps to his own surprise, an author. When I read "Silence of the Sea" I assumed for some reason that it had been written by an old hand. Perhaps that is why its opaque prose seemed to suggest sinister meanings. What

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disturbed me may have been merely the opaque prose—and thinking—of a young, over self-conscious writer.

A HEADLINE in the New York *Times* for December 18 read as follows: "U. S. Role in Greece Limited to Succor." One way or another the *Times* can usually be depended upon to tell all.

BRIEFER COMMENT

Of Shakespeare's Comedy

THE LATE GEORGE GORDON, professor of poetry at Oxford, was a scholar and a gentleman after the English fashion—which means that the scholarship was persistently played down. The Oxford University Press has just issued a small volume called "Shakespearian Comedy and Other Studies" ($2.50), composed of little discourses sometimes no more than three or four pages long, and the writing is always charming in that carefully casual style which has become part of the manner expected of top-ranking members of the British academic world. Poking gentle ridicule at the Meredithian and Bergsonian theories of comedy, which are too solemn to find simple fun other than embarrassing and too moralistic to know what to make of our affection for comic rascals, he chats entertainingly about the Shakespearean clowns and Shakespearean exquisites, who inhabit a comic world of their own. "A theory of comedy, or of comedy *par excellence*, which relegates, and is bound to relegate, most of Shakespeare's comic world to an appendix stands clearly," he says, "on too narrow a basis, at any rate for English use." If Professor Gordon had not been so definitely committed to that apologetic and fragmentary tentativeness which is part of his manner he might have proceeded to formulate a theory of his own. He might, for instance have asked us to consider the possibility that there is a comic catharsis as well as a tragic one, and even that, as some believe, Aristotle himself discussed it in a portion of the "Poetics" now lost. As it is he rests content with perceptive hints and shrewd obiter dicta. Speaking of "Love's Labor's Lost" as the first of a group of plays in which young gentlemen or ladies attempt to live in a kind of Utopia for exquisites, he says: "Every College in this University was originally such an attempt . . . Sooner or later . . . the God of Marriage erects his straggling monuments—and we tumble into a world of taxes, and villas, and perambulators. To every Academe its North Oxford." Part of the joke is that Shakespeare always sees what is coming though his creatures do not. JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

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Whys and Wherefores

EVEN MARGARET BOURKE-WHITE, whose perceptive talent manifests itself better in her photographs than in her text, is concerned about the fact that the G. I. soldier does not know what he is fighting for. In "They Called It Purple Heart Valley" (Simon and Schuster, $3) she tells about her battlefield rovings in Italy and notes that American troops were unable to discuss, and uninterested in discussing, the whys of the war. Politically she found them illiterate as compared with Russians, British, Chinese. This vaguely disturbed her, and was not subject to the sharp pictorial analysis at which she excels. She did realize that men who were doing challenging jobs, such as the fliers in Cub planes acting as artillery spotters, needed no whys and wherefores because they were enthusiasts at their jobs. Not so the man in the forward foxholes; he was an automaton, condemned to risk death for no deep reason that he knew.

Oddly enough, a young man named Arthur Miller sees the problem with more penetrating eyes in "Situation Normal" (Reynal and Hitchcock, $2). I say oddly, because you ordinarily wouldn't expect much of a war book from a youth employed by Hollywood to visit training camps in the United States and absorb atmosphere for a movie. Yet Mr. Miller's is a provocative piece of work. He too noticed that the men did not know what they were fighting for. They did not correlate their battle with that of any of our allies. Just before lunch, in one camp, a lieutenant gave the men their daily five minutes of orientation, droning off news bulletins until he bogged down in the Russian situation. Then he said, "You don't want to hear any more of this, do you?" and finished with a discussion of what a millimeter is.

Mr. Miller thinks there is one thing which his movie must do: "It has got to make sense." He means that it must do what the army fails to do—give some point to the sacrifice of men's lives. And he realizes this is not only for the benefit of the men fighting in the front lines but also for the men who will come home after the war and find themselves suddenly and devastatingly without orders, without a goal. MARCUS DUFFIELD

Chaim Weizmann

THE SEVENTIETH BIRTHDAY of the outstanding Zionist leader of this generation has prompted a symposium on his life and work under the title of "Chaim Weizmann, Statesman and Scientist" (Dial, $3.50). The volume is edited by Meyer Weisgal; the various essays are written by a very distinguished list of authors, including Dorothy Thompson, Thomas Mann, Freda Kirchwey, Ludwig Lewisohn, Maurice Samuel, Norman Angell, Sholem Asch, S. N. Behrman, Stephen Wise, and many others. Justice Felix Frankfurter writes the introduction.

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Merely as a "success story" the career of Weizmann is unique. A Russian Jew educated in Germany, he first came to prominence in Britain as a scientist whose discoveries in microbiology led to scientific advances which helped Britain win the First World War. Dr. Weizmann's scientific eminence contributed directly to his career as a statesman, for it gave him the prestige and, some say, the bargaining power which made it possible for him to commit Britain through the Balfour Declaration to the policy of a Jewish homeland in Palestine.

But Weizmann's career is more than a success story. It is the embodiment of one of the great political ideas of our time, of an idea which has been dwarfed by the magnitude of the world crisis but which is yet relevant to it. The Zionist idea and hope seemed fantastic to many Jews and Gentiles. The logic of history, the sacrifices of thousands of Jews, and the statesmanship of men like Weizmann have gradually brought the idea to the point of historical realization. These essays in honor of a man illumine all facets of the idea and the movement of which he is the most distinguished spokesman.

REINHOLD NIEBUHR

Trail Blazer

IT MAY BE SAID SOME DAY that a signal achievement of plain, ordinary scholarship was to have discovered an American tradition of middle-class art. An instance is provided by "William Sidney Mount," a book composed of a catalogue, an essay, and notes, by Bartlett Cowdrey and Hermann Warner Williams, Jr. (Columbia University Press, $5). Mount founded the American school of genre painting, borne on the wave of Jacksonian populism; and he drove one of the nails into the coffin of the historical school and the grand manner. Dutch models inhibited as well as encouraged his naturalism; yet his example and style, whether known directly or through influences, must have nourished Eakins and Homer in their beginnings.

CLEMENT GREENBERG

War Criminals

AFTER WORLD WAR I the German war criminals were tried, at the suggestion of the Reich, before the German Supreme Court at Leipzig. Out of several hundred six were convicted, and most of them mysteriously "escaped." The lesson taught by these strange trials must not be allowed to go unheeded after this war. In his brilliant and timely book, "War Criminals: Their Prosecution and Punishment" (Knopf, $3), Sheldon Glueck of Harvard University expresses the view that the débâcle of justice at Leipzig contributed a large share to the Nazi policy of brazen lawlessness in the conduct of the present war. He advocates an International Court for important war crimes. Such a tribunal would strongly express the common interests and the growing unity of the family of nations. Highly noteworthy is his list of war criminals, which includes political chieftains also. Glueck convincingly argues that in the German and Japanese conception of "total war" there is little difference "between the intimidating plottings and schemings of the von Rippentrops, the von Papens, the Franks, or the cruelties and criminal responsibilities of the notorious S. S., or the leaders of the 'Japanese Black Dragon,' and those of the traditional military officers." Thus Clodius, the German negotiator and promoter in the scheme of economic conquest, who was captured in Rumania, could be held responsible. It is to be hoped that Glueck's list of war criminals will be adopted by all the United Nations.

The book is a great scientific achievement and deserves wide reading not only by the jurist but by the layman. Glueck presents his case vigorously, but he never allows passion to interfere with his considered judgment. With a mind broad and unbiased enough to grasp the great human issue involved he pleads for justice. "The homes and factories of Europe and Asia laid waste by Axis aggression and greed are the least of the human possessions to be restored; the most precious thing to be salvaged from the ruins is man's hard-won heritage of justice through law."

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Drama

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

ONE of the gentlemen prominently connected with "Oklahoma!" recently remarked in my presence that his show got its best notices the morning after a certain other period musical piece had opened on Broadway. Inevitably—and in this case unfairly—something of the sort happened when "Sing Out, Sweet Land!" had its première at the International Theater—inevitably because it also is a musical entertainment celebrating the American past, unfairly because it is in no sense an imitation of "Oklahoma!" and because it is a delightful thing in its own right.

No doubt the success of the Rodgers-Hammerstein opera did suggest that there might be a public for something which could manage to exploit the folk and popular music of our past, but the boldly simple idea that songs, some familiar and some not very well known, might individually be given theatrical treatment without any attempt being made to weave them into an opera, turned out surprisingly well. To call "Sing Out, Sweet Land!" a pageant is unfortunately and most incorrectly to suggest something slow and stodgy. It does, on the slenderest of threads, string a score of songs, from a Puritan hymn through "Oh, Susannah" and "Frankie and Johnnie" on down to "Yes, Sir, She's My Baby." But these songs are not merely sung; they are also acted, and danced, and pantomimed in so spirited and resourceful a fashion that they furnish a very lively as well as rich evening of a sort which I think Broadway is going to find a great deal more to its liking than I should have been willing in advance to suppose it would find anything that remains as faithful as "Sing Out, Sweet Land!" remains to its original intention.

On the program the show is described as "by Walter Kerr." There follows, however, a list even longer than usual of credits for staging, musical arrangement, choreography, and so on, and the result is to leave the conscientious critic supposing that this is one of those cases where credit should go, not to any one individual, but to the happy cooperation of a dozen—including the members of a large cast of extraordinarily talented performers. What little story there is revolves about the figure of a minstrel who seems to have taken on some of the attributes of Johnny Appleseed, and who wanders through time and space from the days of Puritan dominance on down to the present, crossing the Oregon Trail, riding down the Mississippi River, and reaching even a night club of the roaring twenties. As a story it is not much, and on the few occasions when it is compelled for a few minutes to carry the show the show comes its nearest to breaking down. But fortunately these moments are few as well as brief. For the most part song and dance succeed song and dance with breathless vigor. And what songs many of them are! Nearly all the earlier ones, I could not help noting, are astonishingly gay, and they remain so until the wailing of the spirituals and the blues, the hysteria of ragtime and jazz, make their rather late entrance. "Oh, Susanna," I must confess even at the risk of seeming naive, seems to me a far better tune than any that Kern or Gershwin or even Berlin ever wrote.

Alfred Drake, formerly the male star of "Oklahoma!" plays the role of the wandering singer and carries with easy, informal grace the heaviest burden of singing. There are also a very promising young lady named Alma Kaye and an admirable comedienne known as Bibi Osterwald. But it is Burl Ives, the singer of folk songs, who very nearly steals the show. He gives to his audience that rare delight one always feels when one watches any man do the thing he seems to have been born to do. When he sings "Blue-Tailed Fly" or "Foggy, Foggy Dew" he does it as a bird takes to the air or a duck takes to the water. Aristotle, who rather floundered about in search of illustrations for his contention that happiness for any creature consists in having an opportunity to fulfil its predestined function, ought to have heard Mr. Ives bring a song to life without seeming even to try.

"Trio" (Belasco Theater) got a good deal of preliminary and inappropriate notoriety because of the fact that owners of New York theaters feared possible legal action against a play whose central character has made a Lesbian victim of a young protégée. Actually it is grimly moral in tone, completely inoffensive in manner, and the occasion for a quite remarkable performance by the French actress Lydia St. Clair. That the play remains consistently interesting while at the same time failing to achieve the impact one feels it might have is due, I think, to the fact that the author lacks the courage to make it the tragedy it is trying to be. The central figure is undoubtedly the older—and very sinister—woman. She is by far the most real as well as the most striking figure, and at the end we know both that she is going to hang herself and that that is what she inevitably would do. But the author, as though afraid to risk so unpleasant an ending, tries to shift our interest to the healthy boy and girl who, we are assured, will live happily ever after. The result, since these young people are not really very interesting in themselves, is merely to spare us the full force of a tragedy which we no longer want to be spared.

Art

CLEMENT GREENBERG

THERE are two sorts of provincialism in art. The exponent of one is the artist, academic or otherwise, who works in an outmoded style or in a vein disregarded by the metropolitan center —Paris, Rome, or Athens. The other sort of provincialism is that of the artist —generally from an outlying country— who in all earnestness and admiration devotes himself to the style being currently developed in the metropolitan center, yet fails in one way or another really to understand what it is about.

The late Marsden Hartley, about whom I wrote several weeks ago, was a provincial of this latter sort. And so was the Russian, Vassily Kandinsky, who died two weeks ago in Paris at the age of seventy-eight. They were quite different as painters but both were alike in being provincial. Hartley failed to understand the School of Paris because he really lacked culture. Kandinsky was learned and at ease in his learning, and was one of the first, if not the first, to get an intellectual purchase on post-cubist painting, yet he failed in the end to understand it in practice. (Kandinsky and Hartley were further alike in that they both came to post-impressionist painting through German expressionism, which seemed to make post-impressionism more accessible to non-Latin outsiders.)

Kandinsky began as a disciple of the *Jugendstil*, then joined the *Blaue Reiter*, and finally developed a species of impressionism-cum-fauvism which under the indirect influence of cubism and the experiments of Malevitch dissolved into outright abstract art. It was during these movements of transition and search that Kandinsky's painting reached its heights, to decline almost steadily thereafter. His best work remains those paintings in fluid contour and gauzy

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color that he executed between 1909 or so and the early twenties (the heroic period of the flowering of cubism which also saw such non-cubists as Matisse and Chagall at their best).

The abstract or—as Kandinsky himself called them—"concrete" paintings he turned out from the middle twenties represent a misconception, not only of cubism and its antecedents, but of the very art of putting paint on canvas to make a picture. Like many a newcomer to a situation, seeing it from the outside and thus more completely, Kandinsky was very quick to perceive one of the most basic implications of the revolution cubism had effected in Western painting. Pictorial art was at last able to free itself completely from the object —the eidetic image—and take for its sole positive matter the sensuous facts of its own medium, reducing itself to a question—purely on canvas, not in the observer's consciousness—of non-figurative shapes and colors. Painting could become like music, an art contained in its own form and thus capable of infinitely more variety than before —at least in theory. But Kandinsky erred in assuming that this newly won freedom exhausted the meaning of the cubist revolution and that it permitted the artist to make a clean break with the past and start all over again from scratch—something which no art can do without losing all sense of style.

In point of practice Kandinsky merely exchanged one past for another: that of Renaissance-Paris painting for the woefully meager one of the *art nouveau* of his youth and peasant decoration (already once joined in the *Jugendstil*). He rejected what to my mind is a prior and perhaps even more essential achievement of avant-garde art than its deliverance of painting from representation: its recapture of the literal realization of the physical limitations and conditions of the medium and of the positive advantages to be gained from the exploitation of these very limitations. Kandinsky, in principle, seems to have paid ample homage to the new awareness that easel-painting takes place on a *flat*, *continuous*, finitely bounded surface, but he lacked an intuitive grasp of the consequences of these facts in actual practice. As if in reaction against his earlier liquescent style, he came to conceive of the picture *überhaupt* as an aggregate of discrete shapes; the color, size, and spacing of these he related so insensitively to the space surrounding them—that which Hans Hofmann calls "negative space"—that this remained inactive and meaningless; the sense of a continuous surface was lost, and the picture plane became pocked with "holes." At the same time, having begun by accepting the absolute flatness of the picture surface, Kandinsky would go on to allude to illusionistic depth by a use of color, line, and perspective that were plastically irrevelant. Last but not least, the consistency of his paint surface and the geometrical exactness of his line seem more appropriate to stone or metal than to the porous fabric of canvas—this stricture also applies to Mondrian. But it is not so much that Kandinsky's methods led him to paint bad pictures as the fact that academic reminiscences crept into them at almost every point other than that of what they "represented." And only a sense of style acquired from closer contact with the School of Paris would have insured him against such reminiscences, or at least against their discordant quality.

As a result of his failure to acquire a modern sense of style, Kandinsky remained an insecure painter. A somewhat similar insecurity operated in Hartley's case, which drove him, too, to eclecticism. The stylistic and thematic ingredients of Kandinsky's later work are as diverse as the colors of Joseph's coat: peasant, ancient, and Oriental art, much Klee, some Picasso, surrealist protoplasma, maps, blueprints, musical notation, etc., etc. If Kandinsky's later painting has a certain uniformity, that is owed mostly to its faults; where they are absent we are likely to take a Kandinsky for a Klee. A real high style would have imposed harmony upon materials even more diverse, but Kandinsky could have developed such a style, as I have said, only by going to the School of Paris for inspiration. It remains the necessary source of the only high styles of painting our age is capable of, even as Italy remained the only such source during the sixteenth century.

The exhibition at Nierendorf's (through January 15) illustrating Kandinsky's life work, even though incompletely, makes this quite clear. For a relatively short time Kandinsky was a great painter; he was and will remain a large and revolutionary phenomenon—he must be taken into account always; yet he stays apart from the main stream and in the last analysis remains a provincial. The example of his work is dangerous to younger painters. Let them be warned by the decorations that make vacuous the halls of the Art of Tomorrow museum.

Music

B. H. HAGGIN

THE work Tovey used as his example in his exposition of the Mozart concerto form was the Piano Concerto K.503. It is performed more rarely than some of the other great examples in the series; and its greatness is less easily perceived: I was disappointed by my first hearing of it a couple of years ago; and audiences and critics were unimpressed when Schnabel and the New York Philharmonic under Szell gave it its first New York performances recently. But listening to it as it was rehearsed and performed on this occasion I became excitedly aware of the things that had escaped my ears and mind the first time.

With this experience of the work I was able to appreciate the acuteness of some observations about it in a letter I received a year ago from a reader who owned a copy of the English Decca recording of it (will American Decca please issue it here?); and they provided an explanation of why its greatness is not easily perceived. It is, said my correspondent, who I think had the first movement in mind at that point, "one of those works in which, as Tovey remarks, Mozart's primary interest is architectural, and whose cumulative effect is one of grandeur, sweep, and power." It also has intensity and passion, he said, which are extremely moving at certain points—for example in the recapitulation, where the piano's running figurations in the joint restatement and elaboration of thematic material are among "those subtle and exciting variations and transformations which make Mozart's concerto recapitulations so wonderful and moving." A little later he said something about the Concerto K.459 which was equally true of K.503: that the opening theme hasn't the immediate sensuous appeal of some of the themes of the other concertos, but that "this very simplicity of thematic material . . . permits a richness and variety of elaboration." But, still later, "as Tovey so shrewdly points out, it is the fact of an accepted and established idiom which makes the wit of Mozart and Haydn so pointed and gives their sallies, their developments and variations their subtlety and poignancy." In short, K.503 has one or two but not the profusion of lovely themes with which some other Mozart concertos make an immediate appeal to listeners of today;

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and these listeners do not have the ears and minds attuned to that "accepted and established idiom," for which Mozart contrived the work's rich and subtle elaborations, variations, and transformations of the simple thematic material in the achievement of architectural grandeur.

I also reread Tovey's essay (and now that I knew the work it was intensely moving to read this illumination of the processes of one great mind by those of another; though the contact with great critical insight and integrity also filled me with disgust and anger at the vast outpouring of critical shoddiness and viciousness by the people with space to fill and a living to earn); and it provided more detailed documentation of my correspondent's statements. "Mozart begins with a majestic assertion of his key, C major, by the whole orchestra, with mysterious soft shadows, that give a solemn depth to the tone. . . . It shows at once a boldness and richness of style which is only to be found in [his] most advanced work." But those mysterious soft shadows created after the initial radiance by delicate woodwind textures, and the second time by their wonderful shift to C minor, are subtleties which I think escape listeners of today. And from Tovey's reference to the risks of this opening I suspect he would have agreed that for these listeners there is greater immediate impressiveness in the "something more like an articulated regular theme" with which he says a symphony in the same style—e.g., the "Jupiter"—would begin.

He then describes another example of the concerto's boldness and richness of style. The first orchestral tutti carries a reiterated rhythmic figure into the dominant and to the point where it is trumpeted forth on the note G—but with the effect of being only *on* the dominant, still in the key of C, and with a theme in C minor following it. When this dominant of C minor is reached again in the solo portion Mozart contrives the surprise of the piano's modulation to E flat major. And when the second orchestral tutti arrives he has it duplicate the treatment of the reiterated rhythmic figure in the first tutti, even to the trumpeting of it forth on the note G—to emphasize the effect he contrives this time of its being *in* the dominant, its having departed from the key of C; and the orchestra's G's are in fact answered breathtakingly by the piano's reiteration of the rhythmic figure on the note B, in a further departure to the key of E minor that is the first of the series of bold modulations in the development section. And concerning the difference between the two tuttis Tovey observes:

> There is no describing the peculiar and subtle pleasure this device gives. It depends on a delicate sense of key, but has nothing to do with the technical knowledge which enables us to name it; indeed it is certain to be keenly enjoyed by any attentive listener whose knowledge of music is the result of relish for classical works, stimulated by frequent opportunities for hearing them under good conditions. On the other hand, it is quite possible that many persons . . . having at least a concert-goer's retrospective view of musical history simply do not hear these effects at all.

The fine integration of solo and orchestral parts in the recent performances was not without occasional lack of precision in gearing (chiefly in the slow movement). And though Schnabel's playing was sheer perfection in clarity and subtlety of articulation, it lacked, for Carnegie Hall, the projective force that might have carried over to the audience the grandeur of the first movement and the delicious little jokes in the piano figuration throughout, but especially in the finale.

For the Sunday afternoon broadcast the popular Concerto K.466 was substituted; and bad balance, limited frequency range, and other faults of transmission damaged the performance I had heard at the rehearsal in Carnegie Hall.

James Agee's column on Films is unavoidably omitted from this issue. It will appear next week, when Mr. Agee will discuss the films of 1944.

CONTRIBUTORS

JOHN GRIERSON is head of the Canadian Film Board and a recognized authority on documentary films.

STUART CHASE, one of America's leading economists, is the author of "The Tragedy of Waste," "Rich Land, Poor Land," "The Economy of Abundance," and "The Road We Are Traveling."

REINHOLD NIEBUHR, professor of Christian ethics at Union Theological Seminary, is the author of "The Nature and Destiny of Man" and "Christianity and Power Politics."

JULES MOCH was a Socialist deputy and minister in pre-war France. After the capitulation he was active in the underground movement until forced to flee the country. He then became a commander in the Fighting French navy, and is now a member of the Consultative Assembly.

LIONEL TRILLING is associate professor of English at Columbia University. He is the author of "Matthew Arnold."

MARCUS DUFFIELD writes the weekly review of events, "History in the Making," for the Sunday edition of the New York *Herald Tribune*.

ALBERT C. WYLER, a well-known Swiss liberal, is a member of the American Society of International Law.

Midwinter Book Number

When The Nation issues its Midwinter Book Number, on Feb. 24, the early 1945 literary season will be in full swing.

Publishers wishing to place advertising in this feature issue are urged to reserve space early. Size will be restricted to 40 pages, and latecomers may not be able to obtain space on this date.

Deadlines: Feb. 9 for space reservations; Feb. 12 for copy to set; Feb. 15 for final OK's on set copy and for delivery of complete plates. For further information, telephone BA 7-1066 or write

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Letters to the Editors

Miss Cannell and Her Critics

Dear Sirs: In *The Nation* of September 23 you published under the heading Canard by Cannell a letter signed by five persons which purported to be a refutation of my article, France Without Law, in the August number of the *Reader's Digest* but was nothing but a personal attack on me. It has just been brought to my attention.

Since the publication of my article France has been largely liberated. Thousand of Americans walk the streets of Paris and "the roads of France," and my voice is no longer needed to tell what goes on there. News dispatches daily confirm the truth of everything I have written and said since I landed here on the Gripsholm last March. Everyone now knows that the Avenue Foch was not out of bounds to ordinary French civilians and that Lucien Lelong, with whom I had the honor of working, was not a collaborator but a patriot who has been maintained as head of the French *couture*—the dress-creation industry—by General de Gaulle's government. What they may not know is that inasmuch as the Paris *couture* with its attendant industries occupied before this war a place in French economy equivalent to that of the automobile industries here, helping it meant keeping thousands of French workers alive to be liberated.

If further evidence of my accuracy were required I might mention that my article The Little Gray Mice *(Christian Science Monitor,* May 12, 1944) is being used by our army in one of the orientation courses for the United States Army Air Corps and that the OWI is reprinting my article Paris Spring 1944 (June number of *Harper's Bazaar)* for Europe, Asia, and Africa.

It is obviously futile to waste precious space in refuting insinuations which events have rendered obsolete. One, however, I cannot allow to pass—that is my alleged broadcasts for the Vichy Radio. I make no secret of any of my activities. In the summer of 1941 I was asked to do some special uncensored broadcasts in English, on Women of France—under the auspices of Lucien Lelong and his *couture* group—in these words: "We don't want any propaganda. We would just like to say to America, 'We're still here. We're still French.'" I was advised by my friend and lawyer, a United States ex-Senator, to take advantage of this unique opportunity to help France. I worked entirely with and for French patriots. None of them has had to change his shirt; they all have their heads and their hair. I wrote my own script, especially stressing the *couture* effort, but I also spoke of the activities of French Red Cross workers, prisoners' wives, women running farms, fire-women, who with the help of little boys replaced the almost non-existent fire brigades. I wish everyone could have heard them. They gave a faithful week-to-week picture of life in occupied Paris. Thanks to a light style, I was able to put across much information that could, I believed, be seized by Americans less thick-headed than Germans.

In the same manner I saved the New York *Times's* Paris bureau from being occupied by the Nazis. When their correspondent was arbitrarily ordered back to Berlin by the German authorities, he left me in charge, asking me to keep the office open at all costs. For weeks I did so with the help of one girl secretary, sending fashion or other cables every day so that we should be counted as a functioning press bureau, which was essential to avoid occupation.

Lucien Lelong was not only my boss after I left the *Times;* he was my guarantor to the Germans. With other French fashion personalities, who spontaneously offered to guarantee—with their skins—that I would neither run away nor engage in political activity, he kept me out of an internment camp.

Two days before I left Paris to be repatriated last February, a codirector of a big Paris dress house, who was also a captain in active service both in the last war and in this one, wrote me: "You at least have never failed us. . . . We will forgive your leaving us only on condition that the first thing you do on landing is to secure passage on the first boat back after the war."

Though they claim to have been "in constant communication with the children of France," the signers of your letter have manifestly been misinformed on more than one point. *I was there.* They undoubtedly love France as much as I do. Therefore it is a pity that they have allowed their incomplete data to prevent them from employing their unquestionable literary talents in promoting that better understanding between the peoples of France and America which can only be established on truth.

KATHLEEN CANNELL

New York, October 25

The "Light Style"

Dear Sirs: It is unfortunate that anyone professing a love for France should have permitted herself to betray that love so cruelly as did Miss Cannell in the article under discussion. It is perhaps partly explained by the fact that her long association with the *haute couture* has given her the "light style" for which she is so duly grateful. That "light style" tends to leave much untouched and unexpressed. Surely it was in the article itself and not in her letter of self-defense written some two months later that Miss Cannell should have indicated that she was aware that there were in Paris, as throughout all France, well-organized, well-disciplined groups of "French Red Cross workers, prisoners' wives, women running farms, fire-women," etc. The F. F. I. and other resistance groups worked at all times under the most rigid discipline, and one of the many facts which can now give the lie to Miss Cannell's fancies is the magnificent action at the time of the liberation of another closely organized group—the gendarmes of Paris.

Whatever Miss Cannell's sentiments may have been or may be now concerning France, she is guilty of a great wrong. At a time when every word of what was going on behind France's closed frontiers was of the highest and gravest importance, she chose to make no mention of the fact that, despite the lack of food, the lack of fuel, the lack of clothing, deprived of all communication with the outside world, orderly bodies of French citizens were working systematically and unflaggingly to maintain their nation's inviolable equilibrium. She chose instead to give to the American public a picture of France in hopeless chaos, overrun by "foreign anarchists and killers," a France rendered unsafe, not by the Germans, but by gangs of young French terrorists. So distorted and untrue a presentation did she make that Frenchmen who were likewise there in 1943 and 1944—and to whom Miss Cannell's name is not familiar and therefore not an object

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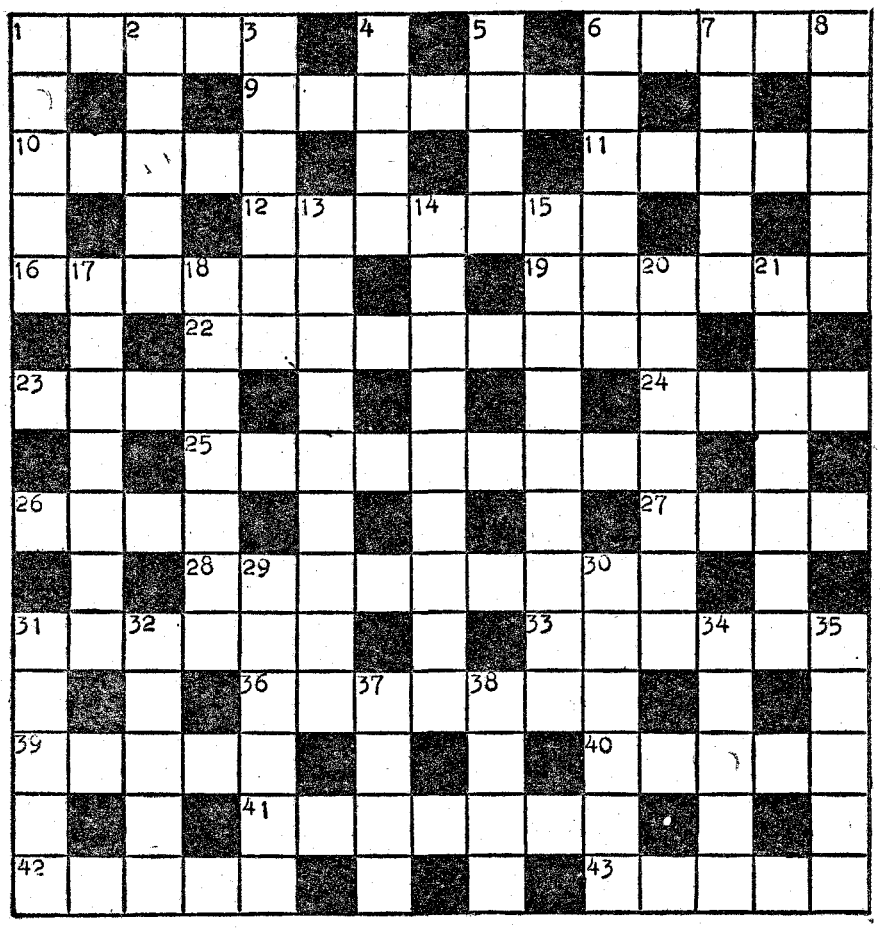
Cross-Word Puzzle No. 98

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 How to do addition sums
6 Period between wars, if any
9 The Cotton state
10 Epithet for the fleet
11 A worker in the brewery
12 American commandos
16 Caliph of the Ottoman Empire, slain by the Giaour
19 Too many eggs about at this time of year
22 It makes ants dance
23 A robot loses heart, having to keep the plant supplied
24 Feminine name, other than Rita
25 Beverage first produced by the Aztecs
26 An English spa
27 Not useless if it's a cigar
28 Rub out, modern style
31 Little vessel, not a little sailor
33 Do I eat? (anag.)
36 Galumphing
39 Usually precedes an explosion
40 I live on it; so do you
41 Put some life into
42 Suggestive of kernels and colonels
43 Spotted

DOWN

1 The movie attendant's beaming welcome
2 Classifications
3 Indian city from which we get dramas
4 Is this what a tale is woven from?
5 It's changeable, and sounds conceited, too
6 An old French peasant
7 Aside
8 Stage direction
13 A hermit
14 A taste for drink, combined with gout, doubled him up forever
15 A book you like will probably be this (two words, 4 and 5)
17 The alligator-pear
18 Chalets (anag.)
20 Littered
21 Beseech
29 Keep out of this chamber
30 Dressed, after a fashion
31 People make free with them
32 It checks your car's speed
34 Where Tom Bowling's gone
35 "----- door and window was adorned" (Macaulay)
37 The world would naturally turn on it!
38 The Terrible One

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 97

ACROSS:—1 SHIP OF STATE; 9 MENU; 10 ALONE; 11 OPUS; 12 FIREDOG; 13 CONSULT; 15 BADINAGE; 16 DESERT; 18 FEWEST; 21 UNTRACED; 24 CLEAVER; 26 CORSETS; 28 GAIT; 29 ORIEL; 30 EYES; 31 PHILOSOPHER.

DOWN:—2 HOUSEWIFE; 3 PIANOLA; 4 FROG; 5 TOEHOLD; 6 TOOLS; 7 RETINA; 8 BUTLER; 14 VENUS; 17 SHAKSPERE; 19 EOLIAN; 20 TREFOIL; 22 TROLLOP; 23 ESTEEM; 25 AITCH; 27 MISS.

for "personal attack"—have spoken of this article both in private and in public with something close to murder in their hearts.

KAY BOYLE
ELSA MAXWELL
JANET FLANNER
SOLITA SOLANO
MARY REYNOLDS

New York, November 6

Not the Only One

Dear Sirs: Florida's anti-closed-shop amendment was carried by a close vote; until the ballots in remote rural areas were counted, it appeared to have lost. Hence the implication in William H. Joubert's letter in *The Nation* of December 16 that the urban daily press was responsible is less than fair. And I particularly object to his characterization of the St. Petersburg *Times* as the *only* liberal newspaper in Florida.

I cannot guess Mr. Joubert's definition of liberal, but I can conceive of no reasonable definition that would include the *Times* and exclude the Miami *Daily News*, the St. Petersburg *Evening Independent*, and the Ocala *Star-Banner*.

The *Independent*, for which I wrote the editorials for eight years ending last June, has been consistently anti-Franco, anti-Munich, anti-white supremacy, anti-Ku Klux Klan, and active in warning against native fascists—including Gerald B. Winrod, a frequent visitor to St. Petersburg, against whom the *Independent* crusaded for three and one-half years before the *Times* so much as mentioned him editorially. The *Independent* took the lead in publicizing the Tampa Shoemaker flogging editorially in Florida, and has supported most liberal proposals. Naturally, it opposed the anti-closed-shop amendment.

The *Independent*, finally, was cited on *The Nation's* Honor Roll in January, 1939, for its editorial attacks on the Klan and on anti-Semitism during 1938. If it has occasionally taken a position to which some liberals would object—what newspaper hasn't?

Mr. Joubert's equal condemnation of the A. F. of L. and the C. I. O. for not fighting the anti-closed-shop amendment more vigorously also strikes me as unfair. The C. I. O., with only 5,000 members, is without influence in Florida. The state A. F. of L. is thoroughly illiberal and racketeer-ridden, and is more energetic in fighting democracy within its own organization than in any fight for principle.

LEE MORRIS

Philadelphia, Pa., December 16

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